CREATING A NEW TORONTO NEIGHBOURHOOD: THE PLANNING PROCESS AND RESIDENTS' EXPERIENCE

Prepared for

The Ontario Region
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by

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Project Location Diagram

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A. Summary of Report

This report explores the planning assumptions and innovations employed by the city of Toronto in creating its second major development, the Frankel/ Lambert Neighbourhood. Particular attention is directed to examining the perspective of the city and the existing community on what constitutes a good neighbourhood. These are compared with the reaction and satisfaction of the new residents of the Frankel/Lambert community with their neighbourhood environment.

During the 1970's the newly elected Toronto "reform council" made extensive use of the revised federal government housing programmes to fulfill one of their mandates: encouraging middle income families to live in the city. Toronto officials decided that the city should assume a leading role in transforming underutilized industrial lands into residential areas. One of their goals was to ensure that the form of development did not resemble the 1950's and 1960's highrise towers sited on superblocks. A superior social and physical model was seen in the traditional Toronto neighbourhood which the reform council was also committed to preserving.

Approximately half of the 23 acre site nearly 6 kilometers from the city core was owned by the Frankel Steel Company who were moving their operations out of the city. The remainder of the site was owned by the City, Metro and the Province. Even though part of the site was owned by public agencies, the city had to pay full market value for the entire site and the cost of the land resulted in densities twice that of the traditional neighbourhood. In the Toronto Official Plan, the area was designated as low-density residential, however the former industrial uses on the site permitted the city to build 2 times coverage without having to obtain an Official Plan Amendment.

Following the pattern established at St. Lawrence, the city acted as developer. Financing came from CMHC for land assembly and site improvements. Maximum use was made of federal housing programmes to build the housing.

A lengthy citizen participation exercise established basic differences in the views of planners and residents on what a new neighbourhood built to resemble the traditional Toronto neighbourhood would be like. They disagreed on density, street patterns, parking, and percentage of homeownership. While citizen participation resulted in the modification and improvement of some elements of the site plan, for the most part, planners' initial proposals were implemented.

Site planning guidelines were a tool adopted by the city because their flexibility would facilitate better environmental design than zoning by-laws in the development of the site. In practice, the use of guidelines proved to be so flexible that the city as developer was able to argue repeatedly for exemptions both from CMHC site planning standards and the city's own site specific planning guidelines. The result was a new residential neighbourhood constructed at less than minimum standards for street widths, setbacks, open space, parking. Given a population of limited financial means which is

dependent on the local neighbourhood environment, this may represent a serious deficit in the future.

The planners saw the traditional neighbourhood as having three critical elements: low scale, small buildings and ground related dwellings. Miniaturization of open spaces occurred as a result of trying to accommodate traditional house form at such high densities that the variety and subtlety of the actual space configurations and their relationship to human behavior were overlooked.

The planners placed a high priority on creating lively streets. However, street related activities were not planned for. The streets have not become the centre of a lively community life. Lacking stores, gathering places, and sufficient private outdoor space to engage in maintenance or other activities, the streets do not encourage contacts among neighbors. The design of several of the buildings around interior courtyards also orients them inwards, away from the street although this arrangement is preferred by the residents.

Backyard space has been squeezed to the point that it cannot accommodate the traditional activities. Parking areas abutting onto the yard space intrude into the user's privacy. In the cooperatives, where private spaces open onto communal spaces, the arrangements may be more acceptable because of the nature of the cooperative relationship.

The parking problem was compounded by a design philosophy which was committed to grade level parking accessed off rear lanes. In many of the projects, the parking at the rear of the units intrudes into the backyard space. Access from the car to the house is frequently indirect because the only keyed entry is on the street side of the units.

Initial assumptions about residents' car ownership were not warranted. Shortly after residents moved in, a successful petition to City Hall resulted in permit parking on the street to alleviate a potentially large deficit in parking spaces. The streetscape is dominated by the road and parked cars. The straight streets are not designed to discourage speeding and accidents have happened.

Although detailed planning studies were carried out to determine how to mitigate the intrusion of railroad noise the sound barriers were not built as proposed and noise intrusion is a problem.

In keeping with planning objectives, Frankel/Lambert has attracted a socially mixed population with a preponderance of households having moderate incomes. Diverse family types are served: families with children, one and two person households, single parents, the elderly. As planned, over half the housing serves families with children.

The population attracted to the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood mirrors in certain key respects the changing demographic patterns of the city as a whole: the decline of the school age population, the smaller size of households, changes in family structure which include an increase in single person households, non-family households and lone parent households headed by women.

New residents living at Frankel/Lambert ranked certain aspects of the external environment among their most important reasons in choosing a place to live: these were neighbourhood safety and security, personal outdoor living space, protection from outside noise and traffic safety.

A comparison of residents, and experts' evaluations of the most important aspects of the environment which contribute to a good neighbourhood environment revealed a substantial overlap in categories chosen. However, four items appearing on the residents' list and absent from the experts' list all relate to aspects of the site: neighbourhood safety, transit service, access to shopping, and traffic safety. These are neighbourhood qualities which did not receive a great deal of attention in the initial programming for the site which residents have found to be important as they live in the neighbourhood.

Residents were most dissatisfied with aspects of the dwelling unit itself: space, storage, soundproofing and protection from outside noise. Lack of auditory privacy between units, which relates to construction methods and the form of stacked townhouse form chosen for most of the buildings, contributed to residents' dissatisfaction with their own dwellings.

While personal outdoor living space ranked fourth in importance to residents in choosing a place to live, their evaluation of Frankel/Lambert on this factor is mixed, with a sizable minority evaluating it as below average. A majority of residents feel that houses should be setback further from the street.

Upkeep of private open spaces becomes one indicator of neighbourhood status and residents' commitment to the neighbourhood. Lack of maintenance has become a source of conflict between different tenure groups. The minaturization of private open space results in a variety of coping behaviours ranging from attempts to demarcate territories and personalize the spaces to outright neglect.

Providing ground level units with backyard space was one of the programmatic requirements in the development of the site plan. However, these spaces were squeezed so much that they are generally quite inadequate from the residents' point of view. They are often separated only minimally from communal open space or car parking and the dimensions are so small that they provide extremely limited opportunities for residents to engage in those activities commonly associated with backyard space.

Planners' assumptions about parking requirements on the site were not borne out in practice. They assumed that car ownership would be lower than normal because Frankel/Lambert is located in a mature neighbourhood well served by public transit. They also assumed that residents of assisted housing would own fewer cars. In reality, three-quarters of households own an automobile. This created a parking problem until the street was used for permit parking. Residents voiced a great deal of dissatisfaction with parking arrangements.

Communal space, both internal and external, shared by all residents of one housing project/building is considered inadequate by residents. This is a serious lack since the non-profit structure requires that residents cooperate in management and decision-making.

Community facilities shared by all residents at Frankel/ Lambert were not constructed as planners anticipated that residents would use existing facilities in the adjacent community. This has not occurred to any great extent due to the differences in ethnic mix and the physical isolation of Frankel/Lambert from the surrounding neighbourhood. The lack of an indoor meeting and recreational space has been identified as a major deficit which works against the development of a common community focus.

Public outdoor spaces received their share of criticisms from residents. Few residents identified the school yard or the Hydro Park as public outdoor spaces. Melita Parkette was seen as small, heavily used, and limited to the needs of small children.

Although residents are satisfied with convenience shopping in the neighbourhood, some felt that it was deficient in small stores, medical facilities, a library and daycare centre within the Frankel/Lambert residential community.

The location of Frankel/Lambert and its accessibility to work, shopping, and other facilities attracted residents to the neighbourhood. Less than half of the residents work downtown, with a sizable group working in suburban locations.

Residents tend to view the social mix of Frankel/Lambert as a positive asset. While there are rent supplemented units in each individual project, these are divided by tenure. Contacts among residents are largely within their own group and shared community goals have not emerged.

Improvements that residents would like to make, even at the expense of something they already have, are improvements in soundproofing, lower housing costs, access to daycare, a place for teens to gather and public transit service. Four of the top ten improvements relate to some aspect covered by the site planning guidelines: traffic safety, a safe neighbourhood, children's playspace attached to the building, and children's playspace at the neighbourhood level. Two of the desired improvements -- soundproofing and space in the dwelling -- relate to CMHC standards for socially assisted housing. The tradeoffs residents are willing to make to improve the residential environment highlight the perceived deficiencies at Frankel/ Lambert which planners either did not consider important in the initial planning process or felt had been provided at an adequate level.

Overall, residents are reasonably satisfied with living at Frankel/ Lambert. However, certain aspects of the design of the dwelling units and the neighbourhood environment are perceived as below standard. Much of residents' dissatisfaction is in response to the miniaturization of both private, shared, and public space in this neighbourhood.

B. Conclusions

An Appropriate Site to Develop for Housing

In retrospect, the Frankel/Lambert development accomplished many of its objectives: a new in-city neighbourhood was created on a site where industrial uses had conflicted with adjacent residential uses; 850 units of new moderate cost housing were created within the city limits; a socially mixed community with a diversity of family types, ages, and incomes was achieved.

A New Vernacular

While avoiding the 1960's monolithic project look, the planners created a new 1970's project vernacular consisting of medium density low rise housing ranged along streets with an absence of open space.

The attachment of the city to this built form solution resulted in the squeezing of external project space to less than minimum standards. Given a density twice that of the surrounding existing community, this created problems of livability.

Miniaturization of the Traditional Toronto Neighbourhood

In the design of the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood, the developer was faced with a basic conflict between building at the densities required to produce affordable housing and building a form of development which might be considered comparable to the housing forms found in the "traditional Toronto neighbourhood". As both of these objectives are essentially irreconcilable, the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood ended up with a <u>semblance</u> of the traditional form at a miniaturized scale but not its function. Instead of accepting these contradictory objectives and trying to work within them, building at the densities needed to produce moderate cost housing required a total rethinking of the site design.

The high density and the miniaturization of the environment can be traced back to the cost of site assembly. Moderate cost housing should come from lower site acquisition costs, not from squeezing in more units. Alternatively, these are two possibilities: if a low rise form is desired, densities could be lowered; if densities must be maintained, a wider-range of housing forms could be allowed.

A Developer is a Developer

In reviewing the history of the development process, one cannot help wondering whether exemptions were allowed because the city was the developer. The city was perceived as building for the "community good" rather than for profit. However, standards are also created for the good of the community and waiving them should not be based upon evaluations of the developer's intentions. The scheme itself should be evaluated on its own merits, irrespective of the type of developer.

Need for Positive Design of Street Space

In medium density projects like Frankel/Lambert, there is a need for positive design of street space and greater attention to separation between private and public space. Even though standard road allowances were narrowed and off-street parking requirements reduced, parking areas and streets dominate the built environment. Residential road engineering standards need to be re-examined from a functional basis which gives human activities priority. The Woonerf or shared street approach which is being used successfully in British and European cities should be evaluated for its applicability in Canada. The Woonerf approach is defined as a residential one in which traffic is not allowed to dominate and where the special layout and street furniture emphasize the prime function of the area as being a place where people live.

The density of development at Frankel/Lambert requires that the limited amount of open space be carefully designed. Space for human activities is too precious to allow for the automobile to dominate. Site services must be positioned so as not to interfere with the planting of large trees. It must be recognized that the transitional elements are critical to the successful functioning of both public and private spaces. Ease of maintenance, including snow removal, should be considered.

All Ages Need Open Space

When new neighbourhoods are developed to accommodate a wide range of age, income, and family groups, public open space must be planned to meet the needs of all ages, not just children. All too frequently, as at Frankel/Lambert, open space provisions are designed solely for the needs of young children. The needs of older children, teens, adults and the elderly are ignored. Well designed, active and passive recreation areas for all age groups are required to maintain both physical and mental health.

At Frankel/Lambert, the specified acreage was devoted to public open space, providing a small parkette, a schoolyard, and a linear park on a Hydro right-of-way. But little attention was devoted to how the spaces would be used, the kinds of activities that would be accommodated, the level of equipment and subsequent maintenance. In a situation where personal outdoor spaces have been squeezed to the minimum and beyond, the quality of the public space, not just its quantity, becomes critical to residents' quality of life.

Bureaucratically Developed Housing

Frankel/Lambert is a community of "bureaucratically developed housing" - a neighbourhood planned by planners. Flexibility was gained by CMHC's social housing program which allowed for non-profit and cooperative housing. But the imposition of design guidelines indicated that the bureaucrats were not willing to give up control to the coops to develop a housing form determined by users. CMHC's 56.1 program protects the long term viability of the project and the co-ops are developing proprietorship analogous to home ownership.

Need for Behavioral Programming

In the development of the site plan, no sociologists or behavioral scientists were used to shed light on the needs and priorities of future residents varying by income, ethnicity, age, and special needs. Basic design decisions were based on intuitive guesses about how people behave in urban space. The citizen participation process improved the plans but they were not surrogates for the socially mixed community that was built. Greater sensitivity to special users was attained by the involvement of small coops in the development of their own building but they had no input into the overall planning of the community. The design of a systematic method for gathering information about user needs and behaviour in the programming phase is especially important in the design of socially mixed communities drawn from diverse ethnic groups. The experience of planners cannot be relied upon solely to provide this input.

Co-operatives - Emerging Lifestyes

Discussions about designing for new lifestyles have focused upon single parents, working women, sharing couples, but have failed to recognize that the non-profit co-operatives have created a new lifestyle as well. Government officials have considered non-profit housing co-operatives as a mechanism to create moderate cost housing. What has not been recognized is that housing co-operatives attract residents with a commitment to co-operation and this results in a different, new form of social relationship between neighbours and different attitudes towards their housing environment than those traditionally held by either renters or homeowners. The design implications of this housing form have yet to be expressed. Co-operatives, in their very nature, need spaces, both interior and exterior, in which to get together. Also, assumptions about street life and the formation of neighbouring ties across the street were not met as co-operatives turn inward upon themselves. This internal focus is particularly strong when there is an ethnic or other common base to membership. The lack of any space large enough to accommodate residents from more than one building or co-operative, reinforces the separation of groups from one another.

Need for Local Services

In creating a socially mixed community of moderate income residents, the planning process at Frankel/Lambert brought together groups of residents who have a higher than average dependence on services available in the local neighbourhood. There is one building for seniors, the proportion of single parents is twice as high as the city average and a high proportion of mothers work outside the home. All three groups share certain characteristics: they are dependent on public transportation or walking rather than having access to a private automobile; they share a concern for safety and security; they have limited time and/or money and are dependent on services at the neighbourhood level.

The provision of social services cannot be divorced from land use planning since space for services must be allocated in the community. Yet the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood was developed as a strictly residential enclave with no shops or other services provided in close proximity to the housing, no

daycare, no community centre, no public library. Where a new neighbourhood attracts large numbers of residents who have limited mobility and resources, special attention must be paid to their access to essential services. One dilemma is that an enhanced level of services is being demanded by a more diverse neighbourhood population just at a time when there is a scarcity of resources and neighbourhoods must compete for fewer dollars with other projects. One of the difficulties of providing social services in a socially mixed community is the wide range of needs with no one family type or age group predominant. This requires a service provision approach which is flexible. Service providers need to shift from an approach based on narrowly defined populations to a geographically based structure designed to meet the needs of a wide range of clients. Given the tight site design at Frankel/ Lambert and the reliance on already-existing facilities in the wider community to serve residents needs, there may be increasing pressures on the school to supply some of the needed services.

Recommendations Directed to CMHC

Need for Functional Site Planning Standards

There is a need to develop functional guidelines for outdoor space--personal open space, project space, parks, and parking, similar to those provided in CMHC's Space in the Home publication which studies the space needs of indoor activities. The document is based on the sound premise that opportunities to carry out normal household activities are hampered if appropriately designed spaces are not provided. Over and over again, studies have shown that the physical setting is as important to consumer satisfaction as the dwelling itself. Only interior areas were considered; the home territory was ignored. The concept of space standards related to "rational and reasonable use of areas" should be extended to exterior spaces.

Performance standards should be based on behavioural data about how outdoor open space is actually used. They should take into account the amount of space required for certain activities, as well as how privacy and territoriality are affected by design. Planning of community spaces for residents from a wide range of cultures and lifestyles, possessing different socio-economic resources and having different age-related needs should be based on sound empirical knowledge of their needs.

Adopting functional site planning standards might also encourage the examination of alternative housing forms which meet these requirements instead of fixating on a single model because its traditional veneer is politically acceptable.

Need for Quality Control Mechanism

At Frankel/Lambert the quality of the public open space provided has come under severe criticism. CMHC approves site plans based on artists' renderings of landscaping and activities in such spaces. However, after the initial mortgage commitment and approval of plans, CMHC has no way to ensure that the subsequent quality of public open space development is adequate. Ways to better monitor the implementation of plans should be examined.

Implementation of Railroad Noise Standards

Sites for moderate cost housing on city sites are frequently on obsolete industrial properties adjacent to railway lines. The problem of railway noise is the subject of a special CMHC advisory document and at the initial planning stages studies were done at the Frankel/Lambert site which resulted in detailed design recommendations. However, when landscape elements and dwelling units were actually built, these noise barriers and sound reduction features were not recognized. Although the mitigation of railway noise is dealt with in CMHC's Site Planning Guidelines, this did not seem to be enforced at Frankel/Lambert either through better quality of construction in units overlooking the railway or in sound barriers. Since this omission will create a long term planning problem, the question of how to construct moderate cost housing near railroad lines must be further addressed.

C. Lessons Learned

The purpose of a post-occupancy evaluation is not to attach praise or blame but to learn from experience so that future developments may benefit. The development of new neighbourhoods such as Frankel/Lambert are experiments in physical and social planning. With few precedents to draw from, planners' assumptions about the way neighbourhoods work and the kinds of people that would be attracted to these communities took on a greater than usual significance. As this study has shown, several key assumptions were not borne out in practice:

(1) Most important, the goal of achieving a built form which replicated the traditional Toronto neighbourhood is called into question given current economic constraints. The necessity of building at moderate density and, at the same time, maintain tradition housing forms were mutually contradictory goals which could only be achieved by the miniaturization of private, shared and public open space. Increasingly dense residential development is a nation-wide trend and the implications for livability have not been adequately examined.

(2) The use of site-specific site planning guidelines resulted in flexibility of approach but the innovation and responsiveness to users argued for to justify this appoach was not demonstrated. Greater attention must be directed to the derivation of such site specific guidelines and to the protection of community standards and goals particularly when developers are public bodies with public accountability.

(3) Assumptions about parking requirements proved incorrect. In the construction of social housing, there is a need to rethink the role of car ownership among the various groups served. There is a need to come up with alternative solutions which accomodate cars and residents' mobility needs without devoting excess space to parking and access lands.

(4) There is a need to examine cases of residential construction adjacent to railway lands, to determine why existing standards are not currently implemented.

(5) While the creation of a social mix was one of the planning objectives, the public spaces and facilities provided in the community did not reflect the diversity of households attracted to the new community. The social mix of Frankel/Lambert goes beyond the socio-economic mix that planners often aim for and includes a range of stages of life cycle, age groups, and different ethnic cultures. The planning process did not anticipate that facilities would have to respond both to the range of specialized needs while, at the same time, creating a common focus and opportunities for interaction that would cross group boundaries. We have argued for greater attention to the streetscape and transition spaces at the boundaries between private, communal, and public spaces. Experience has also shown that the residents of Frankel/Lambert differ significantly from the population in the surrounding neighbourhood and this, to some degree, hampers that integration and use of community facilities that was predicted.

(6) The provision of only a limited amount of space for public facilities on the site has resulted in pressures for the construction of new facilities such as a library immediately adjacent to the site. This suggests the need for better coordination among publically funded bodies such as school boards and providers of seniors housing to ensure that opportunities for multi-use of facilities have been examined and to allow for cost sharing and cost savings in the co-location of facilities.

(7) In any new housing experiment it is inevitable that residents' priorities will differ from those of planners. Frankel/Lambert is no exception. When residents place a higher priority than planners on neighbourhood safety this reflects a general North American trend to be concerned with personal safety in public space and the security of the home environment. While Canadian cities do not have the same problems with crime as some other North American cities, this is an area which might receive greater attention in the development of site planning standards. The higher priority that residents place on transit service and access to shopping may reflect the increasing transit dependence of certain groups of the population. There is a greater need to relate transit planning with land use planning with an emphasis on the location of transit stops, the location of stores and essential services within walking distance.

1 DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

1.0 Introduction

The search for new ways to build family housing within urban areas dominated the Canadian housing scene in the 1970's. Although the issue had economic and social dimensions, questions concerning the physical form of the housing developments predominated. Citizen groups and government officials as well as architects and planners were interested in finding fresh design approaches to replace the typical 1960's development pattern of highrise apartment towers located on grassy sites and set well back from the traditional street building line. This form of residential construction was seen as disrupting the "fabric" of the existing neighbourhoods and causing traffic congestion. Ratepayer groups petitioned municipal council to "Save our Neighbourhoods" from the encroaching highrises and traffic. At the same time, the gentrification of certain city neighbourhoods was evidence of a new interest in downtown living.

During the two decades between 1951 and 1971, while the population of Metropolitan Toronto had increased by 87%, the city's population had remained virtually static and the core area population had declined by 13%. (1)

Escalating housing prices and rents were making it more difficult for average families to obtain affordable accommodation, especially in central locations. Citizens and politicians were startled to realize that since World War II the core areas of Canadian cities were becoming exclusively centers for retail and commercial activity. These specialized uses had helped to further increase land prices squeezing out residential uses except those for the very rich and the very poor. They feared that a continuation of this trend might lead to the kind of urban decay found in American cities where office complexes were deserted at night after workers fled home to the suburbs beyond an inner ring of slum housing.

The creation of housing areas which would encourage middle income families to live downtown seemed the best antidote for urban decay. These families would be concerned about the quality of education in the public schools, would know how to lobby city hall for municipal services and would patronize local shops and restaurants. The Greenwich Village lifestyle portrayed by Jane Jacobs in the Death and Life of Great American Cities (2) provided the model. Post-war residential planning regulations were seen as instrumental in destroying this small scale mixed use pattern of development and replacing it with single use megaprojects. Highrise towers developed at a large scale on super blocks were equated with slums.

As the new apartment blocks were geared more to the needs of singles and empty nesters than to families, the public clamoured for new types of housing that would get low and middle income families out of highrise buildings into homes they could afford in the city. Politicians demanded that new forms of housing and new ways of planning be devised that would create "good neighbourhoods".

Toronto led Canadian cities in reassessing the desirability and inevitability of development patterns which excluded moderate income families from downtown neighbourhoods. When a reform city council was elected in 1972, municipal politicians were convinced that steps needed to be taken to counter this trend. The 1973 Living Room Study (3) established the direction for the following decade of residential planning philosophy, not just in the core, but throughout the city by urging the city to become actively involved in housing. This was elaborated on by the 1974 Core Area Housing Study (4) which recommended that the city become an active agent in redeveloping and recycling large blocks of obsolete industrial lands as new residential neighbourhoods. The construction of housing for low and moderate income families was to be encouraged to maintain a balance of family types and income groups within the city. This attempt at public intervention in the land market was designed to halt the increasing specialization of the core area as a commercial centre with the suburbs as primarily residential. Planners hoped that the construction of new family housing in locations within proximity of downtown would provide an alternative to the flight to the suburbs and keep the city from becoming an enclave of the very rich, the very poor, and the childless.

Previous attempts at government-created housing through urban renewal programmes had been heavily criticized for creating ghettos of poverty in environments noted for their sterility. Amendments to the National Housing Act in 1973 encouraged the City to become actively involved in the provision of housing for low and moderate income families. The new federal housing programs provided non-profit and co-operative housing groups 10% capital grants and 100% financing at preferred rates. This, coupled with federal programs for site acquisition and servicing, created a development climate.

The city was determined to use their proactive role and the federal government programmes to create a new and better living environment.

In October 1975, the Toronto City Council amended the Official Plan to include a housing policy which called for both the preservation of existing neighbourhoods and the provision of affordable housing for Torontonians through the construction of new dwelling units within the city. Half of these units were to be targeted for low and moderate income households of which 25% were to be suitable for families with young children. (5)

The new planning philosophy had as its objective not only the construction of a specified number of housing units but the goal of creating an urban environment which was human in scale, encouraged diversity rather than uniformity, and attracted a social mix rather than reinforcing segregation.

The City of Toronto developed two new in-town neighbourhoods -- St. Lawrence in the core area and Frankel/Lambert in the west-central area from 1974 until present. Currently, a third new neighbourhood is being planned for the Railway Lands. Following the creation of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, Frankel/Lambert was the second neighbourhood developed by the city. Planning began in 1976 and by the Fall of 1984 approximately 1800 residents lived in the new neighbourhood. CMHC programmes were used to assemble the land and to build the range of housing.

Planners had to reassess traditional standards in order to cope both with new consumer needs and the economic constraints of building within established communities. Site planning necessitated the redrafting or suspension of existing government regulations concerning open space requirements. Justifications for this hinged on the argument that planners were recreating the "typical Toronto neighbourhood" and that site planning criteria created for new suburban housing or downtown highrise megablocks were inappropriate.

As a result, a new 1970's project vernacular emerged which, in its own way, is as distinctive as that of the 1960's or 1920's: small builders generated a range of design solutions within fixed parameters; a mix of tenure types; lowrise but dense coverage of the site; a minimum of private and public open space; dwellings related to the street arrayed along a grid street pattern. The antithesis of the highrise development block of the fifties and sixties, the final form is closer to 19th century development patterns which evolved as the cheapest and easiest way to build workers housing and, of course, did not have to accommodate the car. What is new to the seventies and eighties is a miniaturization of urban space in response to the high price of land and programme constraints.

From the perspective of CMHC, there is an interest in evaluating both the process of development and its outcomes. CMHC programmes were used to finance construction of both non-profit and ownership units. Since this housing was publicly subsidized and created to meet social objectives instead of responding solely to market demand, there is a general interest in evaluating the livability of the neighbourhood environment and the extent to which objectives were met. On a more specified level, there are questions about whether exemptions to the site planning standards were justified. In light of experience with the development of this site and others in built-up neighbourhoods in other cities, do site planning standards require modification to suit new circumstances or has the relaxation of standards resulted in lower environmental quality?

From the perspective of the planning profession, there is interest in evaluating Frankel/Lambert and similar neighbourhoods. Since the "clean sweep" policies of urban renewal which stopped in Canada in the late sixties, these projects are among the first attempts by government to create new housing on a large scale. Yet the planning philosophy guiding this effort differs radically from that underlying urban renewal. Initiated by a reform movement in municipal government, a key question is whether the new ideology of responsive planning and citizen participation affected the planning process and whether the outcomes were more responsive to the needs of specific user groups than earlier government housing initiatives.

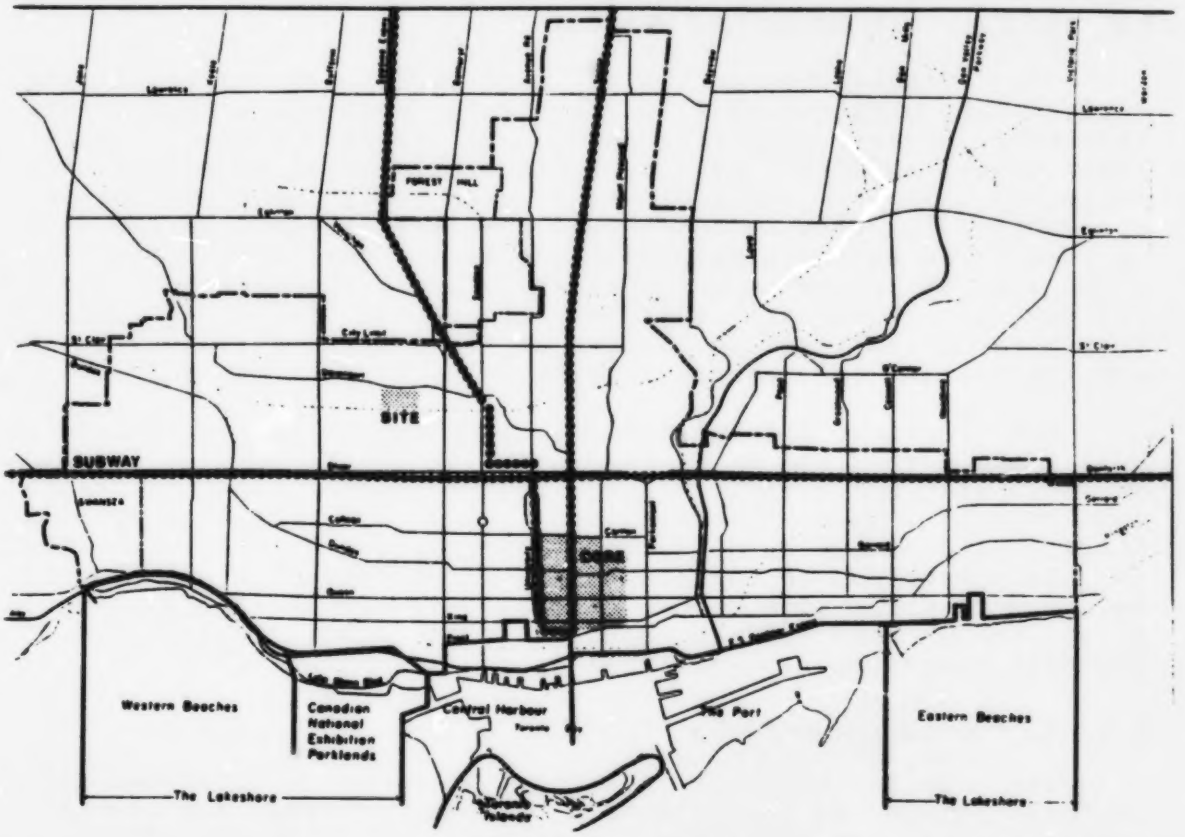
In the competitive housing market of the seventies, how well did the city do in its role as developer? What changes in the development process were required to accommodate the new realities of developing housing within an already built up urban area where costs were high? How did the city deal with its dual, and sometimes conflicting, roles of developer, definer of the public good, and enforcer of standards?

Since the city's entry into the housing field was motivated (at least in part) by social objectives which included stabilizing the city's population and existing neighbourhoods, the city was faced with the dilemma of creating a viable alternative to highrise development which could be built under existing government programmes. When a private developer builds a new community, one of the guiding principles is making a profit through responding to market demand. When the city becomes the developer and public subsidies cushion the relationship with the market, it is important to examine the principles guiding development. In the case of Frankel/Lambert, the city had a very specific vision of the new Toronto neighbourhood that would be built on former industrial lands. An examination of the elements of that vision, its basis, and final realization, becomes important in understanding both the planning process and the built form.

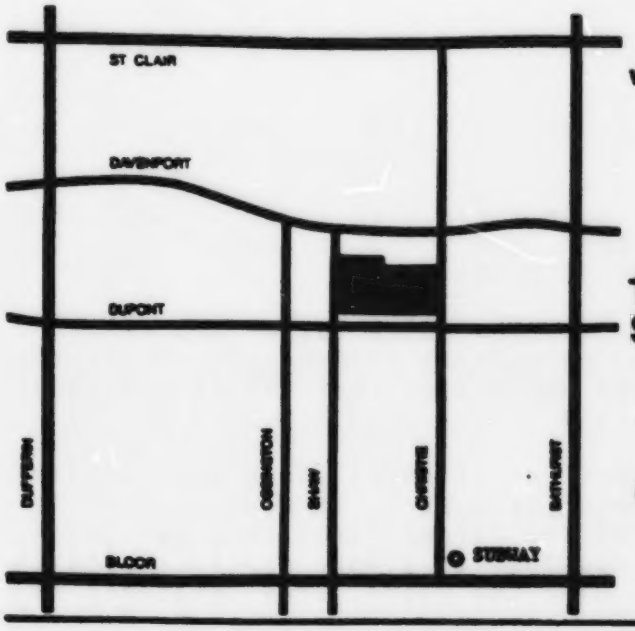
This study was undertaken to explore the appropriateness of the planning assumptions and innovations used in the development of the Frankel/Lambert Neighbourhood. The study focuses upon those elements of design which are amenable to manipulation by architects and planners and those aspects of the neighbourhood's development lesson which are transferrable to other sites.

The study compares the priorities of the planners, residents in the existing community, and the new residents. After a detailed analysis of the site planning process, the study examines in-depth residents' use of the neighbourhood environment, their perceptions, and priorities. This testing of the assumptions inherent in the planning objectives of the City of Toronto and in CMHC Site Planning Criteria, we trust,

CITY OF TORONTO PLANNING AREA



Adapted from City of Toronto planning department map



within the city

THE FRANKEL/LAMBERT SITE

arterial roads

Adapted from Littlewood, 1977

will provide a useful input into future policy.

1.2 Site Characteristics

The Frankel/Lambert site was chosen as suitable for residential uses because it was a large property with obsolete industrial uses partially owned by public bodies located immediately adjacent to an existing residential community. By replacing major non-conforming uses with new residential accommodation, this project was the first attempt by the City to infill an existing neighbourhood at a significant scale. As with the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, the construction of a new residential community adjacent to active industrial uses, signalled a new trend on th part of the City to view industrial and residential uses as co-existing in already built up areas.

The 23-acre Frankel/Lambert site is located in Toronto's West End over 3 1/2 miles from the city centre. It is bounded on the east by Christie Street, on the south by the CPR tracks and Ontario Hydro transmission towers, on the west by Shaw Street, and on the north by Melita Avenue and the rear lot line of the properties on the south side of Marchmount Road. To the east of the site is the Castleview-Wychwood Towers, a seven-storey Metropolitan Home for the Aged. To the west of the site remain major industrial uses.

1.3 Site Assembly

The method of site assembly and the decisions made by various levels of government in this process are key to understanding the development pattern at Frankel/Lambert and subsequent trade-offs made concerning density and housing form. Several factors were critical in the land assembly process:

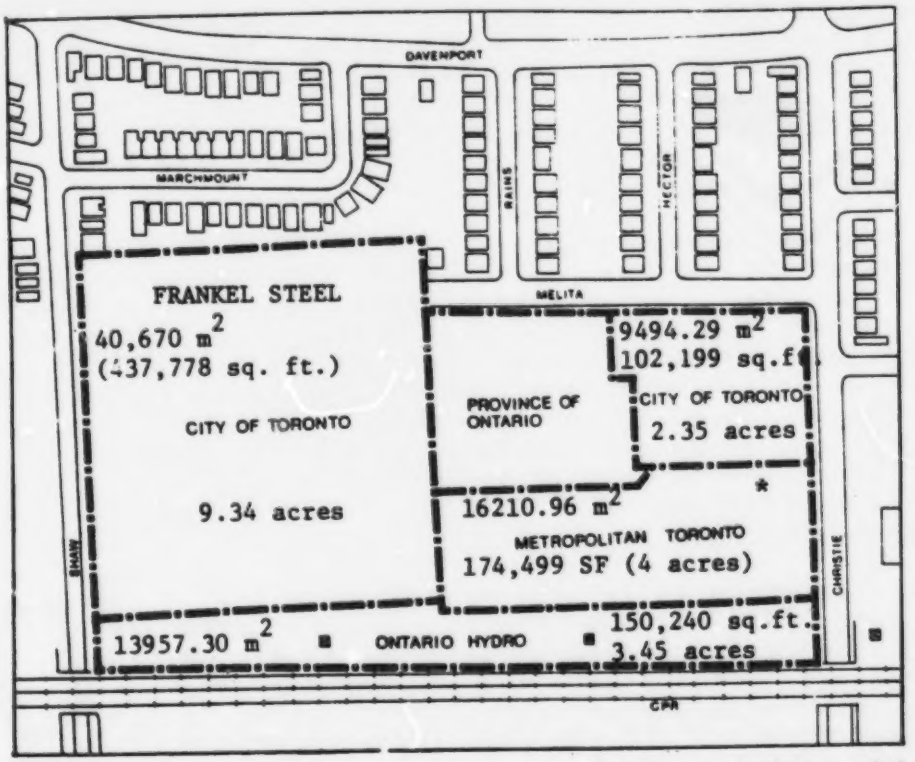
1. how allowable densities were determined under the zoning by-law;

2. negotiations between the province, Metro, and the city on the price of land;

3. the effect of land costs on the number of units built and the exemptions requested from CMHC standards and the site-specific site planning guidelines.

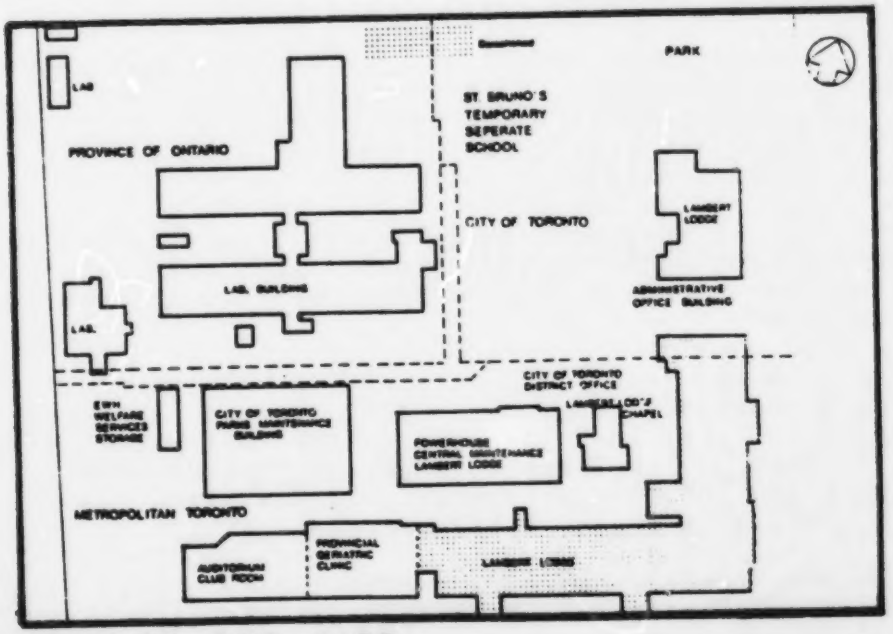
Because the land was sold to the city at market value, a continuing concern was how to squeeze enough units on to the site to be able to produce moderate cost housing without sacrificing environmental quality.

In the northwestern part of Toronto along the Canadian Pacific Railroad tracks there is a strip of older industrial plants. During 1976 one of the larger firms, Frankel Steel, announced that it was relocating to a more spacious site in semi-rural Milton, Ontario. Over the years, area residents had



SITE ASSEMBLY

* Lambert Lodge - rights of way
8,211 SF (0.19 acres) 762.8 sq. mi.



USES ON THE SITE

Adapted from Littlewood

made numerous complaints about noise, environmental pollution and heavy truck traffic caused by the steel plant. The city welcomed the removal of this "noxious use" from implementation of its housing policy. It seemed likely that it would be possible to also acquire a parcel of land to the east of the Frankel site (which was ripe for redevelopment) owned by the three levels of government. The total area would be large enough so that the city could create "a well planned residential community" which would "strengthen" the existing residential land use pattern to the north of the site.

On the Metropolitan Toronto's parcel, Lambert Lodge was being demolished because the activities it housed had been transferred to the new Metro Home for the Aged, Castleview-Wychwood Towers which had recently opened on the opposite side of Christie. The Metro Separate School Board operated St. Bruno's school in a number of portable classrooms on lands they leased from the City. A large wartime "temporary" structure housed various provincial laboratories including the Phytotoxicology and Radiation Testing Labs of the Ministry of the Environment. The City hoped to convince the province to relocate these facilities.

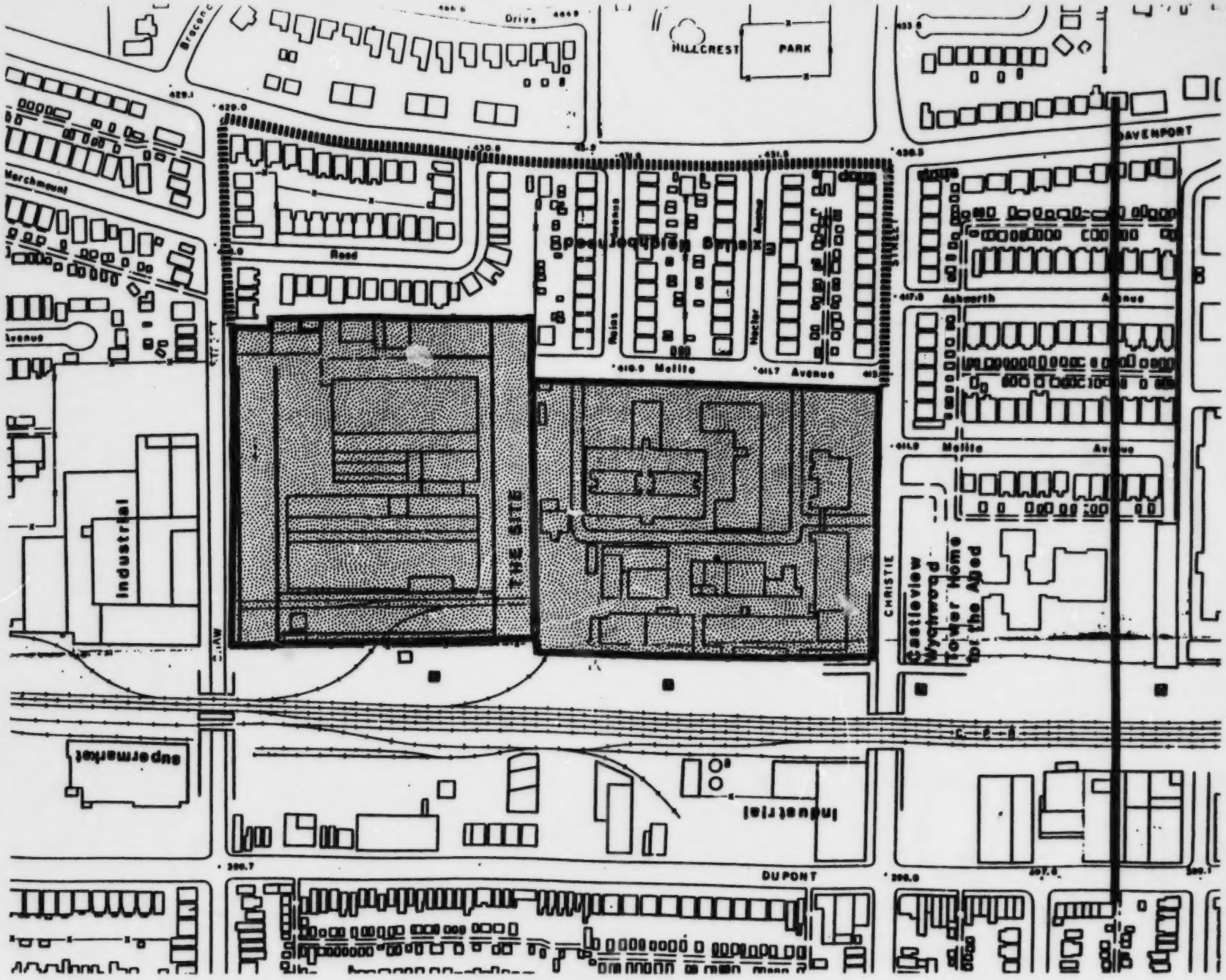
The development potential of the lands had been limited in 1975 because the land had been severed into three parcels and, in addition, the Ministry of Community and Social Services had required guarantees from the City and Metro regarding future uses. Metro was effectively restricted to using its land for Homes for the Aged and related social services. The City was limited to providing a public park, school site, community recreation and/or social facilities or non-profit family housing or a combination of those uses.

Two large transmission towers stood on the 20-30 meter wide strip of land parallel to the railway tracks owned by Ontario Hydro. Part of this site was used by Frankel Steel for employee parking and Hydro planned to rent the land to George Brown College for student parking.

To achieve an integrated redevelopment, the City had to engage in lengthy and complicated negotiations with all the owners. The outcome of these negotiations directly influenced the final site design.

The Metro owned land was located in a low-density residential neighbourhood, but its C3V3 zoning permitted industrial use. In the land exchange, the Metro site was reduced from 4 acres to 2 acres. However, the permissible density was doubled to 2 times the coverage to allow for the construction of a 250 unit senior citizen residence. (6)

Although Metro readily agreed to the city's site plan proposals, there was disagreement over how much the city should pay for the 2 acres. From the city's perspective, it was imperative to keep the price of land as low as possible in



Adapted from City of Toronto
Planning Department map

order to meet the social and environmental criteria established for the redevelopment. It would have been possible for Metro to contribute its residual 2 acres to the city at a nominal sum. The density had already been transferred to the new two acre site for senior citizens' housing. The Commissioner of Housing noted, "such an arrangement is neither unreasonable in light of the historic costs of the land to Metro nor in the context of Metro's overall concern for the provision of low and moderte income housing. Clearly, any reduction in the total site acquisition cost for the Frankel/Lambert scheme would be beneficial to the scheme". (7)

Based on the price paid for the Frankel site, the market value was estimated to be approximately $636,000. Under the terms of the 1975 land agreement, Metro was legally responsible for some contribution to the infrastructure costs of any redevelopment scheme. The city and Metro agreed upon a Unit Land Formula Cost which, in effect, meant that the city paid about 50% of the market value. Metro calculated that at the time they were paying about $3,900 per unit for senior citizens' housing sites. If a market value of $1,275 was assumed for the 4 acre site and "the value of a 2 acre site zoned for 250 senior citizens at $75,000, the residual 2 acre site could be attributed to a value of $300,000". (8)

After reaching a tentative agreement, Metro began to have second thoughts about keeping any of the land and another round of discussions began. At the February 21st, 1978 meeing of Metro Council, it agreed to sell the entire site to the city for $1,414,000.00 (approximately $8.03 sq. ft. or $350,000 per acre). The City was also responsible for demolition and site clearance. (9) The Commissioner of Housing explained to Council that it would be necessary to obtain from the proposed site for seniors' housing a yield commensurate with the price. The economics dictated a non-family apartment type use. The Commissioner of Housing observed that "in terms of the provision of school facilities and parks and recreation space, little added impact can be seen. It is also clear that no reduction in density, height limits or other planning guidelines should be made". (10)

The 1.818 acres owned by the province were acquired after another round of protracted negotiations. The $995,000 purchase price equated to a cost of approximately $8.10 per square foot. The City also purchased some land from Hydro, at market price to use for a public street. The City leased 2.8 acres immediately adjacent to the tracks for a nominal fee for use as a park and for parking primarily for the Cityhome apartment building. (11)

CMHC supplied 90% of the acquisition costs plus planning costs under Section 42 of the National Housing Act in 1978. The city supplied the other 10% ($153,360) from its land banking funds.

Table 1.A

FRANKEL/LAMBERT NEIGHBOURHOOD PROJECT

SUMMARY REPORT

Site Disposition

Gross Site Area: (100%)	19.83 ac 8.02 ha	863,578 s.f. 80,226 m²
Streets and Lanes: (25%)	5.00 ac 2.02 ha	217,941 s.f. 20,247 m²
Parks: (5%, Note 1)	.97 ac .39 ha	41,658 s.f. 3,870 m²

Note 1: Hydro Park (2.8 acres) excluded from total as site is leased, Park area equals 17% if Hydro Park is included in totals.

Development Parcels: (listed by phase on sequence of development)

Project	Sale Price	Area		Unit Price
1.1 St. Bruno's School	$ 1,265,520	1.74 ac .71 ha	75,959 s.f. 7,057 m²	16.70/s.f. 179.81/m²
1.2 Arauco Co-op	469,328	.92 ac .37 ha	40,117 s.f. 3,727 m²	11.70/s.f. 125.93/m²
1.3 Fred Dowling Co-op	462,585	.90 ac .36 ha	39,026 s.f. 3,626 m²	11.85/s.f. 127.59/m²
1.4 470 Melita Cityhome	442,000	.64 ac .26 ha	27,684 s.f. 2,572 m²	15.97/s.f. 171.86/m²
1.5 Victoria Wood Houses	1,640,000	2.29 ac .93 ha	99,873 s.f. 9,278 m²	16.42/s.f. 176.76/m²
1.6 Cityhome Houses	397,500	.89 ac .36 ha	38,947 s.f. 3,618 m²	10.21/s.f. 109.86/m²
2.1 West York Houses	1,050,000	1.47 ac .59 ha	64,125 s.f. 5,957 m²	16.37/s.f. 176.27/m²
2.2 Lotus Co-op	960,000	1.50 ac .61 ha	65,138 s.f. 6,051 m²	14.74/s.f. 158.64/m²
2.3 Constance Hamilton Co-op	310,000	.47 ac .19 ha	20,646 s.f. 1,918 m²	15.02/s.f. 161.63/m²
2.4 Lambert Court Cityhome	$ 700,000	.99 ac .40 ha	43,110 s.f. 4,005 m²	16.24/s.f. 174.79/s.f.
2.5 Christie Gardens Seniors	2,113.000	2.06 ac .83 ha	89,554 s.f. 8,319 m²	23.59/s.f. 253.98/m²
Total (Net Site: 70%)	$ 9,809,933	13.87 ac 5.61 ha	604,179 s.f. 56,129 m²	16.24/s.f. 174.83/m²
Total (Gross Site: 100%)		19.83 ac 8.02 ha	863,778 s.f. 80,245 m²	11.36/s.f. 122.28/m²

Source: City of Toronto Housing Department, 1983.

Table 1.B FRANKEL/LAMBERT NEIGHBOURHOOD PROJECT
SUMMARY PROJECT

Acquisition and Development Cost Data

Overall Site Area: 19.83 ac 863,578 s.f.
8.02 ha. 80,226 m^2

Original Parcels:

Ownership	Purchase Price	Area	Unit Price
1. Frankel Steel	$ 3,200,000	10.05 ac 4.07 ha	437,778 s.f. 40,670 m^2	$ 7.31/s.f. 78.68/m^2
2. Province of Ontario	995,000	2.82 ac 1.14 ha	122,840 s.f. 11,412 m^2	8.10/s.f. 87.19/m^2
3. Metro Toronto	1,414,000	4.04 ac 1.63 ha	175,782 s.f. 16,330 m^2	8.03/s.f. 86.59/s.f.
4. Ontario Hydro	91,000	.57 ac .23 ha	24,812 s.f. 2,306 m^2	3.67/s.f. 39.40/m^2
5. City of Toronto[2]		2.35 ac .95 ha	102,366 s.f. 9,510 m^2	Note 2
Total Acquisition Cost (53% of Total Costs)	$ 5,700,000	19.83 ac 8.02 ha	863,578 s.f. 80,226 m^2	$ 6.60/s.f. 71.05/m^2
Development Costs (26%)	$ 2,750,000		$ 3.18/s.f.	34.28/m^2
Planning Costs (1.5%)	162,500		.19/s.f.	2.03/m^2
Administration Costs (1.5%)	160,000		.19/s.f.	1.99/m^2
Carrying Costs (18%)	1,900,000		2.20/s.f.	23.68/m^2
Total Costs (100%)	$ 10,672,500		$ 12.36/s.f.	133.03/m^2
Less Grants and Operating Revenue (9%)	999,700		1.16/s.f.	12.46/m^2
Net Development Costs (91%)	$ 9,672,800		$ 11.20/s.f.	120.57/m^2

[1] Additional 2.8 acres leased annually for Parks purposes ("Hydro Park")

[2] Exchanged for equipment site elsewhere purchased at $4.70/s.f., ($50.60/m^2), not charged to project; if included, site value equals $481,120; total acquisition equals $6,181,120 for av. $7.16/s.f. or $77.07/$m^2$.

SOURCE: City of Toronto Housing Department, 1983.

TABLE 1.D. Development Strategy at Frankel/Lambert

FRANKEL/LAMBERT TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL CONSULTANTS

Acoustical	SNC/GECO Canada Limited
Appraisal	Smith, Donkin & Associates
Design Co-ordination	Noel Hancock/David Simpson, Architects
Energy Conservation	John Hix, Architect
Legal Counsellors	Shiff, Gross
Market Research	A. E. LePage (Ontario) Limited
Open Space	Allan Littlewood, Architect
Site Plan	Allan Littlewood, Architect
Structural	Hanscomb Roy Associates
Surveys	W. Troy Associates

FRANKEL/LAMBERT DEVELOPER AND ARCHITECTURAL CONSULTANTS

Phase 1

PROJECT	DEVELOPER	ARCHITECT
Arauco Housing Co-operative	Co-operative Housing Federation of Toronto Inc.	Harrison, Black
Cityhome Apartments	City of Toronto Non-Profit Housing Corporation	Clifford, Lawrie, Bolton
Fred Dowling Co-operative	Labour Council Development Foundation	Sillaste and Nakashima
St. Bruno's School	Metropolitan Separate School Board	Moffat and Duncan
Shaw Street Village	Victoria Wood Development Corporation Inc., and The City of Toronto Non-Profit Housing Corporation	Sheldon Rosen

Phase 2

PROJECT	DEVELOPER	ARCHITECT
Christie Gardens Apartments and Nursing Home	Christie Street Senior Citizen Residences Inc.	Robinson and Heinrichs
Constance Hamilton Co-operative	Constance Hamilton Co-operative	Simon Architects
Lambert Lodge	City of Toronto Non-Profit Housing Corporation	Edward Galanyk
Lotus Co-operative	Lantana	TSOW Architect
Wychrest Homes	West York Developments	Annau Associates

Source: Adapted from City of Toronto Housing Department, 1983

Table 1.C Land Costs (12)

1.	Acquisition (Frankel, Hydro, Metro, City, Province)	$ 5,661,000
2.	Legal, Title and Recordings Costs	275,000
3.	Planning Costs	325,000
4.	Servicing Costs Servicing Demolition Environmental Lighting Parks Development	2,675,000
5.	Net Carrying Costs	476,000
		$ 9,412,000

In summary, although much of the Frankel/Lambert site was already in public ownership, the cost of the land became a major issue during the site assembly and a major constraint in the options available to the city as developer of the site. Since the price of the land was related to the density of development for which it was rezoned, one might question the rationale for zoning at this density.

1.4 Development Strategy

At Frankel/Lambert, the city undertook to act as developer. Following the administrative pattern established for St. Lawrence, the city hired a co-ordinator to oversee the development of the project. In January 1977, Joe Berridge, a planner with the City of Toronto Planning Department, was selected to co-ordinate the negotiations with all the public agencies and levels of government, to monitor and co-ordinate staff and consultant reports, and to work closely with the working committee. (13)

By May 1977, the Commissioner of Housing was able to report the Neighbourhood's Committee that the planning costs were estimated to be $122,000, excluding in-house planning, administration and co-ordination time. He compared this to the $240,000 spent on St. Lawrence for the equivalent process. (14) A number of planning studies were commissioned. These included a Built Form Analysis Study to ensure design flexibility within the zoning by-laws, a Park and Open Space Design, a Noise Impact Study to examine the impact of the railway, a Street and Site Servicing Study which included examination of traffic impact. Table 1.D lists the technical and professional consultants used.

Private Market Developments

West York Development

Victoria Wood Development

The city expended approximately $3 million in the provision of services, roads, sidewalks, lighting and parks. This is in addition to the city's investment of $10 million in acquisition, planning, development, administration and carrying costs. These investments have been repaid and the city has actually netted $500,000 on Frankel/Lambert. These funds have gone into a revolving account which has been used for other City of Toronto housing projects.(14)

In the development of the project, the federal contribution was considerable. The city assembled the land with loans from the federal government's land assembly program. Federal grants helped finance site improvements. Federal social housing programs made it possible to achieve goals of providing assisted housing for moderate and low income families. By constructing housing under the 56.1 CMHC programme, the city was able to ensure that rents in the non-profit co-ops and the two Cityhome buildings owned by the city would be low end of market rents. In addition, joint federal and provincial rent supplement programs provided further assistance to low income families (usually to an upper limit of 25% of residents in a particular building). Use of CMHC's Assisted Home Ownership Program (AHOP) which provided a grant and low interest loan to homeowners made it possible to target families with lower incomes than would otherwise have been possible.

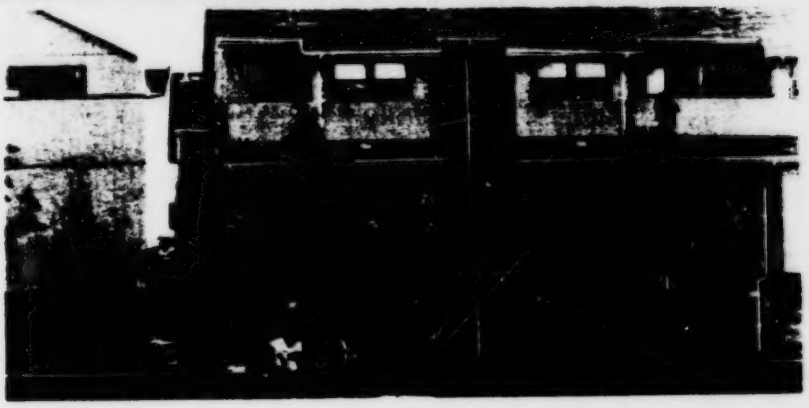
By making maximum use of all federal housing programmes available to it, the city was able to build a large stock of new affordable housing within the existing infrastructure of a mature city neighbourhood.

1.4.A Homeownership Units

In 1977, the sale of city-owned land to developers for private market units was contrary to Council policy. The City Housing Department staff argued that the construction of privately owned units was appropriate on this site. They hoped to attract Southern European immigrants who would not accept leasing or limitations on resale units; there was a competitive market for moderately priced homeownership units in the city; and they felt the AHOP programme would keep the initial price low and this price level would influence future sales so that subsequent buyers would not reap a speculative profit. (15)

Each of the two phases of the site development contained freehold ownership units. Lots were sold directly to the developers by proposal call. The city evaluated submissions on the basis of price, design and willingness to abide by certain resale provisions. In 1980 during Phase I, Victoria Wood constructed 100 stacked townhouse units. The selling price of 75 of the units was $53,000. These had to be sold under the Assisted Home Ownership Program (AHOP) which was then in operation to help modest income families into the housing market. Twenty-five larger homes sold at $60,000-$67,900.

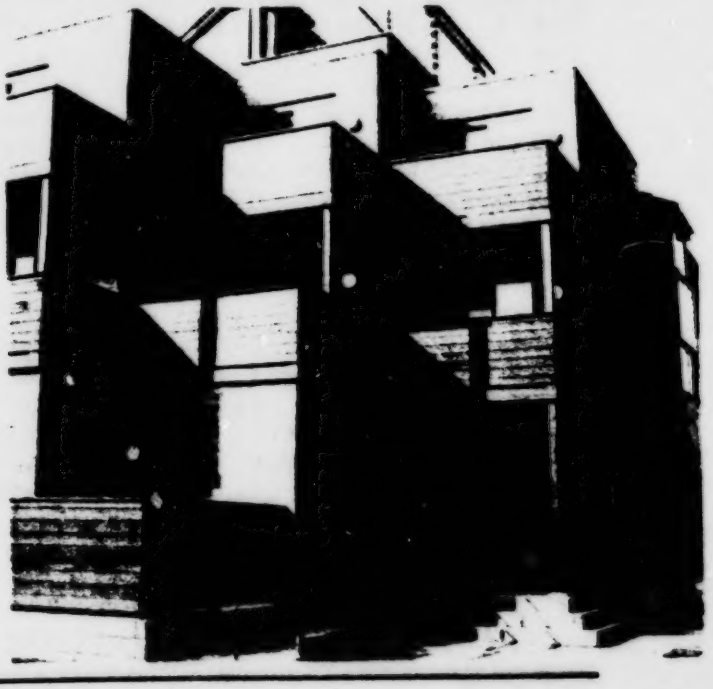
Co-operative Housing



Lotus

Fred Dowling

Arauco



Constance Hamilton

According to the Vice-President of Victoria Wood, there were no income ceilings on buyers nor control on resales although a special high ratio mortgage scheme was used for applicants with good job prospects so that some owners earned as little as $12,000 yearly. (16) The company also built 39 units which Cityhome acquired as part of their rental portfolio.

By the time Phase II was developed, the AHOP programme no longer existed. Nevertheless, West York, a second private developer, agreed to make 44 of their 66 units available to moderate income first time homebuyers for $59,900. Market prices were charged for the remaining 22 units. When the units came on the market in November 1981, high mortgage rates created problems in selling and Cityhome bought the unsold units to add to its rental stock. (17) (See Table 1.B for summary).

There has been some interest in the resale value of these homes. Lot sizes are considerably smaller than lots on the adjoining streets of Hector, Rains, and Marchmount. There was some question as to whether being part of a mixed tenure community would negatively affect resale prices. In addition, there was a concern that homeowners not reap speculative profits in the short run. When the townhouses were constructed at Frankel/Lambert, selling prices were roughly equivalent to resale house prices for older housing on nearby streets. Since then, they have maintained their resale value compared with housing in the existing neighbourhood. (18)

1.4.B Non-Profit Housing

The City of Toronto Non-Profit Housing Corporation purchased two sites designated in the master plan to become small apartment buildings as well as 39 townhouse units. Under the Federal and Provincial agreement at the time of construction, twenty-five percent of these units are available to low income families on rent-geared-to-income basis. This provision also applied to the four sites developed by the non-profit co-operatives. In Phase I the Fred Dowling Co-operative was created by employees of Canada Packers, a meat packing plant in the west end. Although members of this development group do not actually live in the co-op, it was so successful that it expanded in Phase II by purchasing 20 townhouse units from West York. Arauco Co-op was established by a group of Chilean refugees. In Phase II, the Constance Hamilton Co-op was formed to house women and children. It also includes a six bedroom post-crisis transition house which receives special operating subsidies from the provincial government. Lotus Co-operative was initiated by and provides housing for Vietnamese refugees. The sites were leased to the co-operatives for 99 years. Each project chose its own architect and detailed designs were reviewed by the city for conformity to the master plan.

A senior citizen residence, Chateau Gardens, had been

Cityhome Projects

Lambertcourt

470 Melita Crescent

planned as part of Phase I. Plans were prepared and construction was scheduled to commence in 1979, but a major financing problem arose and the original proposal was abandoned. The residence was finally constructed in 1984 using basically the same plans but under the management of a new board. Table 1.C provides details on the developer and architect for each project. Table 1.D summarizes the number of units in each project.

In summary, the development strategy at Frankel/Lambert was one of overall co-ordination by the City Housing Department which included site assembly, negotiations with various levels of governments, establishment of site planning guidelines and development control instruments. Within this overall framework, parcels were developed by various small builders acting on behalf of special user groups including the elderly, ethnic groups and women. The housing built used a range of architectural solutions and materials. By making use of all available housing assistance programmes, the city was able to provide a large stock of new moderate cost housing.

1.5 Citizen Participation and Site Development

The particular characteristics of the site required that a number of factors had to be juggled in the transition from policy statement to actual development. City Council was just as committed to preserving existing neighbourhoods as they were to creating new ones. A commitment to public participation resulted in a lengthy process of negotiation with the existing community on the form the new community should take. In August 1976, the Commissioner of Housing spelled out for the Neighbourhood Committee of Council the principles underlying the development criteria for Frankel/Lambert: (19)

1. "Blending the built form with the attractive residential areas to the north should be a prime objective, while recognizing that the overall density will be somewhat higher. One solution would be to concentrate higher density buildings away from existing houses, and closer to Christie and Shaw Streets".

2. "Encouragement of a mixture of income, unit types and sizes, tenures and housing producers should be a further goal. In this way, the impact of the development may be lessened through greater variety".

3. "Provision of suitable community and recreational facilities within the overall framework of the former Lambert Lodge and Frankel properties appears necessary due to the large increase in population envisaged. The temporary facilities for St. Bruno's Separate School might be replaced with a more permanent facility, additional park space might be created, and other social facilities are now contemplated for the Metro Lands".

Context-Existing Community

Porches and Front yards

Back lanes and Parking

Back yards

Many of the site planning principles which had recently been adopted for the development of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood in the core area of the City of Toronto were transferred to Frankel/Lambert. Although the designers of St. Lawrence had talked about integration with neighbouring areas of the city, in fact, there were no local residents who had to be consulted. But Frankel/Lambert was part of the very active Hillcrest community. News that the old industrial buildings would be replaced by a housing scheme developed by the city received a mixed reaction. Non-profit and co-operative housing were new ideas. Was this just another name for public housing? If so, the community wanted no part of the scheme. How high would the density be? This was a neighbourhood of houses and they did not want highrise buildings. They were worried that the development would increase traffic problems on nearby residential streets.

Before Council approved the acquisition of the site, a public meeting was held in September 1976 attended by about 20 people. As a result of the meeting, the Neighbourhood's Committee recommended to Council the establishment of a working committee to advise on the preparation of the development proposals. About 30 residents attended the second public meeting on the 4th of November called to select committee members. It was agreed that eight area residents, the two ward Aldermen and representatives from the Housing Department, Planning Board staff and Metro Social Services would form the working committee. Beginning January 1977, they met at least once every two weeks for over two years to review and discuss site plan proposals. The goal of the resident members, the city's staff, and consultants was to build a "traditional Toronto neighbourhood" but they vehemently disagreed about what constituted a "traditional neighbourhood".

1.5.A Divergent Views on the 'Traditional Neighbourhood'

Hillcrest residents firmly believed that their neighbourhood was a good place to live. In order to preserve its qualities, many individuals in the community had played an active role in the citizen's movement which had elected Mayor Crombie and the team of aldermen who supported his policies. Citizen participation was a fundamental tenet of the reform movement. Both the city and the neighbourhood shared the same goals for the new development; they disagreed about how that could be achieved. Despite many lengthy meetings, the community remained dissatisfied with the site proposals. In November 1977, the local residents on the working committee sent a signed petition to the Toronto City Council voicing their concerns: (20)

> "We are interested in preserving the quality of life that exists in the neighbourhood today and in ensuring that an equivalent quality of life will exist in the neighbourhood".

> "... the overall density of the development ought to be lower than presently proposed and a mixture of tenure types approximating that found in healthy downtown Toronto neighbourhoods ought to be sought. It is widely recognized that Toronto is one of a handful of North American urban centres whose downtown supports healthy, thriving resident communities. We believe that the observable mix of social and economic backgrounds of downtown Toronto residents is the element that distinguishes Toronto's downtown from many others. We believe, therefore, that it is of utmost importance to make every attempt to replicate what are demonstrably good, working, existing communities and to avoid simply erecting buildings that meet existing needs for shelter but perhaps not for community life ...".

Five specific recommendations were made in the citizens' petition concerning reductions in density, changes in the street pattern, parking, the homeownership component, and school facilities (Table 1.E) and negotiations continued with the city on these matters.

Continuing their battle in February of 1978, the Wynchwood Park Ratepayers Association sent 355 standard letters to Council reiterating their concerns. Local residents were concerned about the long-term habitability of the housing and the impact the new development would have on their property values. They were not convinced that good housing could be produced at the proposed densities.

They repeated the concerns they had expressed to the Neighbourhoods Committee six months earlier:

> "We are asked to accept that people can be housed in 13 foot wide housing at ground level. Not one house, but row after row! No separation, just like a large apartment building laid out on the ground. Let us put our concern a different way. If this proposal was being submitted by a private developer, would you approve the density and lot size? Would you approve the plan? Would you question amenities and impact on the neighbourhood?" (20)

They continued to argue that the density of the proposed development was not in keeping with that of the neighbourhood. In terms of lot coverage, the density would be twice that of the community immediately to the north and the population density would be more than doubled. The existing development had 45 people per acre and the proposed scheme had a projected density of 105 persons per acre, while residents also felt that the proposed 21% private ownership component was too low. They expressed concerns about insufficient off-street parking and park space. (21)

Prototypical Traditional Toronto Neighbourhood

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Table 1.E

EFFECTS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION PROCESS ON SITE DEVELOPMENT

DISPUTED ELEMENTS OF SITE DEVELOPMENT	RESIDENTS' POSITION - Nov. 1977 petition	CITY'S POSITION	FINAL OUTCOME
1. Density	06-08 gross coverage	2.0 x coverage[1] 1.35 x coverage[2] 1.0 x average coverage[3]	FIL Housing Project By-Law (105-78) permits gross density of 1.0 over whole lot. Individual parcels are allowed separate densities from 1.2 (Fred Dowling) to 2.0 (Cityhome
2. Mix of tenure types	50% home-ownership	30%[4]	25%
3. Minimum lot sizes	15 ft.	13 ft.	13 ft.
4. Parking	1 space for every 3/4 unit	Reduce parking standards to reduce costs and increase open space.	- 1 space for each ownership unit; - Non-profit co-ops - between 80-39% of units have parking - Cityhome .51-.40
5. Street pattern	a. Melita St. terminates as cul-de sac at school site b. Eliminate traffic incursion onto other streets	a. Integrate with existing community through grid street pattern with north-south orientation to connect with Hector and Rains	a. Melia St. circles around school site b. East-West street system resulting in 3 shallow blocks at FIL. No integration with existing community.
6. School facilities	To be approved by Ministry of Education	School site including shared use facilities for community.	St. Bruno's Separate School; double gym used by Parks and Recreation for summer programs.
7. Park space	Limit impact of FL on surrounding area.	3 new public open spaces.	Built children's playground, school yard, Hydro right-of-way

[1] Density allowable according to Official Plan prior to site assembly.

[2] Maximum density for site in acquisition report.

[3] Joe Berridge, at public meeting, October 1977.

[4] Notice of Application for Amendment to the Zoning By-Law, August 8, 1977.

Toronto Star Sept 20, 1978

Cut red tape and build these houses

The Ontario Municipal Board should deal quickly with the obstinate objections of the people who are trying to block the Frankel Lambert project.

Frankel Lambert is a 20-acre site in the west end of the city of Toronto that was occupied mostly by the Frankel Steel Co. and Lambert Lodge, a senior citizens home. The city acquired the site and planned to put some 1,400 housing units on it.

However, because of neighborhood objections and because part of the land will be used for a new separate school, the city cut the project to about 800 units.

But even this was too much for some of the neighbors; they insisted on going to the municipal board. Construction workers could have started working on the site this month. Instead, experts from the city's housing staff are droning on in the witness box to justify a project that almost including ward Alderman Susan Fish

excellent.

One of those co-ops is made up of Chilean refugees.

In addition, in an area woefully short of greenery, there will be a 1¼-acre park, a 1-acre playground attached to a separate school and 3½ acres of landscaped open space — essentially a strip par — beside the CP Rail tracks.

Objectors claim the density of the project is high; that there is "too much assisted housing" "insufficient home ownership."

That sounds like code, but what these peopl really trying to say is that they don't want people living next door.

No one has the right to kill a project as this on grounds of simple-minded snobbery. any case, even the assisted housing in Lambert will be renting at only a few doll the market. So this is at best, housing fo income people.

Obstructionist tactics could hold the for a whole year. Michael Dennis, the ci commissioner, says delays have alread cost of the project significantly.

The objectors have done enough ought to withdraw their case at rd, pay off their lawyer and go h

Here's housing that should be built fast

On Monday, Toronto City Council votes on exciting new housing project for west-end Toronto. A favorable vote ought to get it started soon. But it isn't, because there'll still be months of discouraging red tape to untangle before construction can begin. That means the cost will continue to climb.

The project, planned by the city's own housing department, will be built on reclaimed industrial land south of Davenport Rd. between Christie and Sts. It's named Frankel Lambert because it includes the site on which the Frankel steel works and Lambert Lodge once stood.

The development meets all the city's own criteria: density and mixed use. There are to be rental apartments and townhouses and some condominiums as townhouses that will be sold for $47,000 or less to qualify for the federal government's assistance ownership program. Some rental units will be available for individuals and families who receive supplements and others will go at market rents. small apartments will be owned by the non-profit housing company.

Toronto Star April 8, 1978

something for everybody. for senior citizens assisted housing. houses,

tion can begin this summer — as is desirable — or even this year.

The project must first be approved by the Ontario Municipal Board since there have been objections to it from property-owners in the neighborhood. That means a lengthy hearing, especially if local ratepayers want to voice their objections in detail again.

Moreover, the municipal board has applications before it that will until the fall. The process could

Christie housing poses no threat residents told

Alexander Epstein of and why

Toronto Star March 2, 1978

While the professional planners anticipated that the grid street pattern would encourage street life, the local members of the working committee were worried that connecting streets would encourage traffic to short-cut through the residential streets. The planning team ignored the potential negative social effects of traffic infiltration associated with grid street systems. Yet traffic control systems to prevent automobile invasion of residential streets were becoming a hot political issue in neighbourhoods throughout the city. One-way mazes, stop signs, no-turn signs, street closures and speed bumps had recently been installed in many areas to reduce the volume and speed of traffic on residential streets.

Their concerns were backed up by research which documented the negative impact of traffic volumes on the social life of streets. (23) Traffic volumes were shown to have a direct bearing on the social life of streets: friendships and acquaintances declined as traffic increased.

The residents of Frankel/Lambert succeeded in having Hector and Rains Avenues terminate at Milton Avenue but they failed to win their argument that Melita Street should end in a cul-de-sac at the school. In 1983, a speeding car failed to make the bend on Melita adjacent to the school and crashed into the school grounds. Fortunately, the children were inside the school building and no one was injured. The neighbourhood, new and old, asked for and got a crash barrier installed.

After Council approved the scheme, the local residents carried their battle to the Ontario Municipal Board. The Toronto Star accused the local residents of selfishly delaying development, adding to the costs and keeping affordable housing off the market. In his by-line column, David Lewis Stein wrote:

> "Those fighting the case at the OMB complained Frankel/Lambert has "too much assisted housing" and "insufficient home ownership"
>
> "That sounds like a polite way of saying they don't want poor people moving in down the block. The objectors lost -- and they deserved to". (24)

Finally, the Ontario Municipal Board gave the project a green light and the actual development proceeded. As the result of citizen participation, the street system had been given and east-west orientation so as not to connect with Hector and Rains Avenue, but they had failed to get the cul-des-sacs they argued for on the new streets. The density is lower than it would have been without their persistent questioning of the planners' proposals. The percentage of homeownership units they sought kept slowly shrinking and when these units finally came onto the market, a slow housing market resulted in the purchase of some units by the City's Non-Profit Housing Corporation and by one of the non-profit co-operatives. Table 1.E summarizes the final outcomes of this lengthy negotiation process.

In summary, the site development stage at Frankel/Lambert involved a protracted citizen participation process which centred on the form the new community should take. While both the City and residents shared the goal of creating a new neighbourhood as much like the traditional neighbourhood as possible, their views on hos this might be achieved conflicted when it came to questions of density, parking, house form and tenure. While some concessions were made to residents, the final zoning and site plan implemented recommendations which were not fully supported by local residents.

Section 1.0 Footnotes

References: Section 1 Development Issues

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2. Jacobs, Jane. Death and Life of Great American Cities. New York: Random House, 1961.

3. City of Toronto, Housing Working Group. Living Room: An Approach to Home Banking and Land Banking for the City of Toronto. December 1973.

4. Klein and Sears, op. cit.

5. City of Toronto Planning Board. Proposed Official Plan Amendments on Housing. City of Toronto, October 1975, p 17.

6. Department of the City Clerk. Recommendation contained in clause No. 25 of Report No. 48 (1977) of the City of Toronto Executive Committee as adopted by City Council on November 21, 1977. City of Toronto, p 1.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid, p 2.

9. Extract from Report No. 5 of the Committee on Neighbourhoods, Housing, Fire and Legislation contained in Executive Report No. 11 as adopted by City Council on 13 March 1978, p 2.

10. Ibid, p 10.

11. City of Toronto, Department of the City Clerk. Report No. 2 of the City of Toronto Executive Committee. January 16, 1977 and Extract from Report No. 5, op. cit.

12. Extract from Report No. 5, op. cit., p 5.

13. City of Toronto, Department of the City Clerk. Recommendations contained in clause No. 8 of Report No. 1 (1977) of the City of Toronto Executive Committee as Adopted by City Council on January 17, 1977.

14. Wilf Worland. Draft Frankel/Lambert Report. City of Toronto Housing Department, 1983.

15. City of Toronto Housing Department, October 4, 1977.

16. Globe and Mail, March 13, 1980.

17. Status Report, Commissioner of Housing, March 19, 1982.

18. Teela, Sales Report, July 1984.

19. Extract from Report No. 20 of the Committee on Neighbourhoods, Housing, Fire and Legislation contained in Executive Committee Report No. 40 as adopted by City Council on September 15, 1976, p 4.

20. Memo from Frankel/Lambert Working Committee to His Worship the Mayor and Members of City Council. November 4, 1977.

21. Minutes of Public Meeting Frankel Steel/Lambert Lodge Lands. October 29, 1977.

22. Extract from Report No. 7 of the Committee on Neighbourhoods, Housing, Fire and Legislation contained in Executive Committee Report No. 16 as adopted by Council on April 10, 1978, p 3.

23. Appleyard, Donald. Livable Streets. Berkley, University of California Press, 1981.

24. Stein, Lewis. Toronto Star, September 18, 1978.

2 PLANNING ISSUES

2.0 Design Guidelines

A key to the physical development of the Frankel/Lambert site was the rejection of traditional municipal planning by-laws as an appropriate regulatory tool and the creation of design guidelines tailor-made for the site. These were seen as providing a flexible mechanism to use in evaluating design proposals for the individual building projects. The existence of these site specific guidelines were used as the rationale to argue for exemptions from CMHC's site planning standards. Imbedded in the design guidelines were the city's assumptions about the elements essential to the creation of a new community comparable to the traditional Toronto neighbourhood: a grid street pattern, density and house form reminiscent of Toronto's 19th century working class areas.

Site planning guidelines are considered to be more flexible and responsive to site specific conditions than are zoning by-laws. On the other hand, they have no legal status and are more open to negotiation and trade-offs. In the case of Frankel/Lambert, they were seen as a way to facilitate building a number of small individual projects suited to the needs of a diversity of user groups, several of which were based on ethnic or other special interests. Also, they were thought to be the appropriate device to use to maintain an adequate residential environment while lowering traditional standards to cut costs.

Examining the application of guidelines at Frankel/Lambert brings into question this widespread planning trend. Are they a better, more flexible mechanism than zoning to use to produce a good residential environment? Are they a way of incorporating environment and behavior research findings into planning or do they simply give a pseudo-scientific justification to the whims of designers?

In order to understand the origins of the design guidelines created for Frankel/Lambert, it is necessary to examine those drafted for St. Lawrence, the first new neighbourhood developed by the city. Although the claimed superiority of design guidelines is based on their site specificity, the Frankel/Lambert guidelines were strongly influenced by those used at St. Lawrence. This is a much larger project, 3,500 housing units on 44 acres, and, located next to the city's core, has a much higher profile. Many of the key actors were involved in both projects and they acknowledge that St. Lawrence had the prime claim on their attention. When Frankel/Lambert was created, the same design guidelines and planning principles were applied. Therefore, the basic concepts underlying the relevant St. Lawrence guidelines need to be explored.

The design guideline concept is not unique to Canada or to Toronto. Planners hoped that design guidelines, sensitive to the needs of a particular site would avoid 1960's style megaprojects, which typically took the form of complexes designed by a single architectural firm, covering a number of blocks. The scale of the projects seemed to generate banality and dullness. When megaprojects included housing, not only were the buildings inhuman in scale, but too frequently social pathologies festered in projects constructed to house low-income tenants. The image of the design award-winning Pruitt-Igoe public housing scheme in St. Louis being blasted into rubble because of social environmental collapse haunted those concerned with low income housing. In Toronto, a mixed-income area, the highrise-high density St. James Town, became the focus of citizen outrage against contemporary developments. The design profession ascribed the social problems reported in Canada's oldest and largest public housing project, Regent Park, to its highrise physical form.

The problem, as defined by the architects and planners, was how to introduce the variations in form and detail which had resulted from smaller development parcels into large scale building projects. The solution adopted was to split the megaprojects into smaller elements designed by a number of architects. Trained to equate beauty with order, the urban designers were reluctant to allow their fellow practitioners a free hand. The babble of the individual designers would be unified into a common language by establishing design guidelines.

In the early 1970's, when the City of Toronto became actively involved in implementing residential development, they sought to avoid the social policy and physical design errors of the 1950's and 1960's. Existing neighbourhoods were to be preserved, not destroyed, by redevelopment or urban renewal projects. Underutilized industrial lands were to be transformed into residential areas. Socially mixed neighbourhoods rather than low income housing projects were to be created. These neighbourhoods would avoid the project stigma because there would be a predominance of market and non-profit over subsidized units, a high level of amenities and services, and the physical form of the development would echo that of the traditional Toronto neighbourhood. Instead of depending upon the private sector, the role of the public sector was expanded. Planning, design and implementation would be in municipal hands with financial assistance coming from the federal government.

The overall goals and objectives of the City's new approach to housing were presented in a 1973 report Living Room: An Approach to Home Banking and Land Banking for the City of Toronto. (1) The "neighbourhood preservation" theme which had been the issue in the election of a reform council and David Crombie as mayor in 1972 were adapted to planning for new housing. The physical attributes of the "traditional" Toronto neighbourhood were seen as creating appropriate environments for families with children. These physical

qualities, particularly low and medium rise buildings directly related to a system of grid streets, were recommended when creating new housing either in whole new neighbourhoods or infilling in existing communities as a means of integrating publicly funded projects into the broader district. Implementation strategies, including more detailed criteria for the physical form of future developments was further elaborated upon in the Core Area Housing Study of 1974. (2) In the same year, the St. Lawrence site provided the first opportunity to give form and shape to the City's housing policy.

A series of reports issued during 1974, 1975 and 1976 established the design guidelines used at St. Lawrence and inadvertently documented the professional dogmas and myths current in Toronto at the time. (3) It is in these planning documents that we find a rationale for the planning concepts subsequently applied to the development of Toronto's second new neighbourhood, Frankel/Lambert.

The St. Lawrence Status Report of 1974 identified four basic design considerations: the grid street system; creating a mix of uses, tenure types, unit types and developers; neighbourhood focus and identity; and open space. (4)

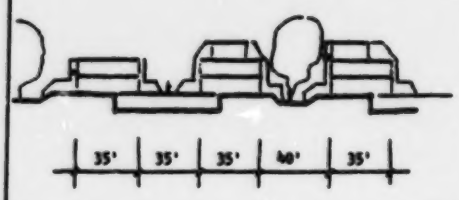
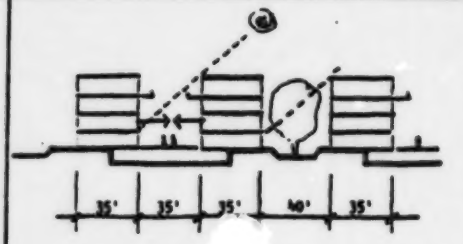
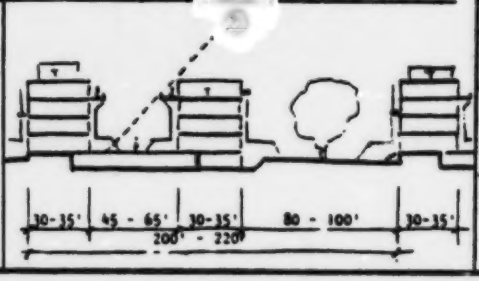
The grid street system was accepted without much comment. Neither the positive nor the negative functional attributes of the grid were identified even though traffic problems associated with it had been part of the citizens' concerns leading to the election of the reformers to Council. It was this caucus which championed the St. Lawrence scheme. The image of the grid seemed to be the most important attribute, primarily because its absence was a characteristic of 1950's and 1960's mega-projects. The Status Report said that the grid would achieve two important goals:

> "First, it 'blurs' the interface between the new development and the older city fabric, thus avoiding gross physical demarcation. Second, it provides a recognizable street pattern (and hierarchy) which is understood by those who live in the city". (5)

The Design Guidelines prepared in 1975 predicted, "The city grid ensures that St. Lawrence will not become the ghetto on "the other side of the track". (6) The grid would also be the basis for the design of the second neighbourhood adjacent to another set of railroad tracks.

Having accepted the grid pattern, the depth and width of the blocks had to be established. These two dimensions on plan were directly related to the feasible heights and depths of the blocks of housing which would line the streets. Diagrams of hypothetical buildings were created accompanied by comments about the neighbourhood character which would result from these different ways of building the housing units. Two of the four building types recommended for use at St. Lawrence were used at

Fig 2.A **built form studies**

BUILDING TYPE #	SECTION AND SPACING	- 23 - RESULTING NEIGHBOURHOOD CHARACTER	# OF BUILDINGS ON THE SITE	SITE COVERAGE NET	SITE COVERAGE GROSS	RECOMMENDATION
1		This building type would result in a very intimate and successful neighbourhood structure. Very suitable for families with children. Densities achieved are very low.	800 to 1,000 dwellings on 28.65 Acres	0.50 to 0.63	0.42 to 0.52	Very limited applicability
2		This building type requires larger spacings. There is too much overshadowing. There is too much overlooking. The spaces are overwhelming and out of scale. (Too high).				
2		With the spacing shown here, this building type produces an ideal neighbourhood character. There is no overshadowing, pedestrian spaces are intimate, but in the right proportions. Green areas are quite sunny and well-supervised from the dwellings. Dwellings have two different views and orientations. This building type could house a great variety of dwelling and family types.	1,260 to 1,600 dwellings on 28.65 Acres	0.80 to 1.00	0.65 to 0.83	Broad applicability

Building type 1 and 2 were used at Frankel/Lambert. Note that dimensions between blocks are less the CMHC Site Planning recommendations. Basis for comments on neighbourhood character is unclear.

Source: Zeidler Partnership Architects, Design Guidelines for the Proposed St. Lawrence Neighbourhood Site. City of Toronto, Housing Department, April 1975, p 23.

Frankel/Lambert. (See Figure 2.A) The basis for the comments about "Resulting Neighbourhood Character" are not explained, but this report and the other planning documents virtually ignored the considerable body of man/environment research which existed at the time and the evaluations of specific schemes illustrated were limited to personal impressions of design features. (7)

Many of the more detailed design performance criteria contained in the St. Lawrence Preliminary Site Plan would also be used at Frankel/Lambert. (8)

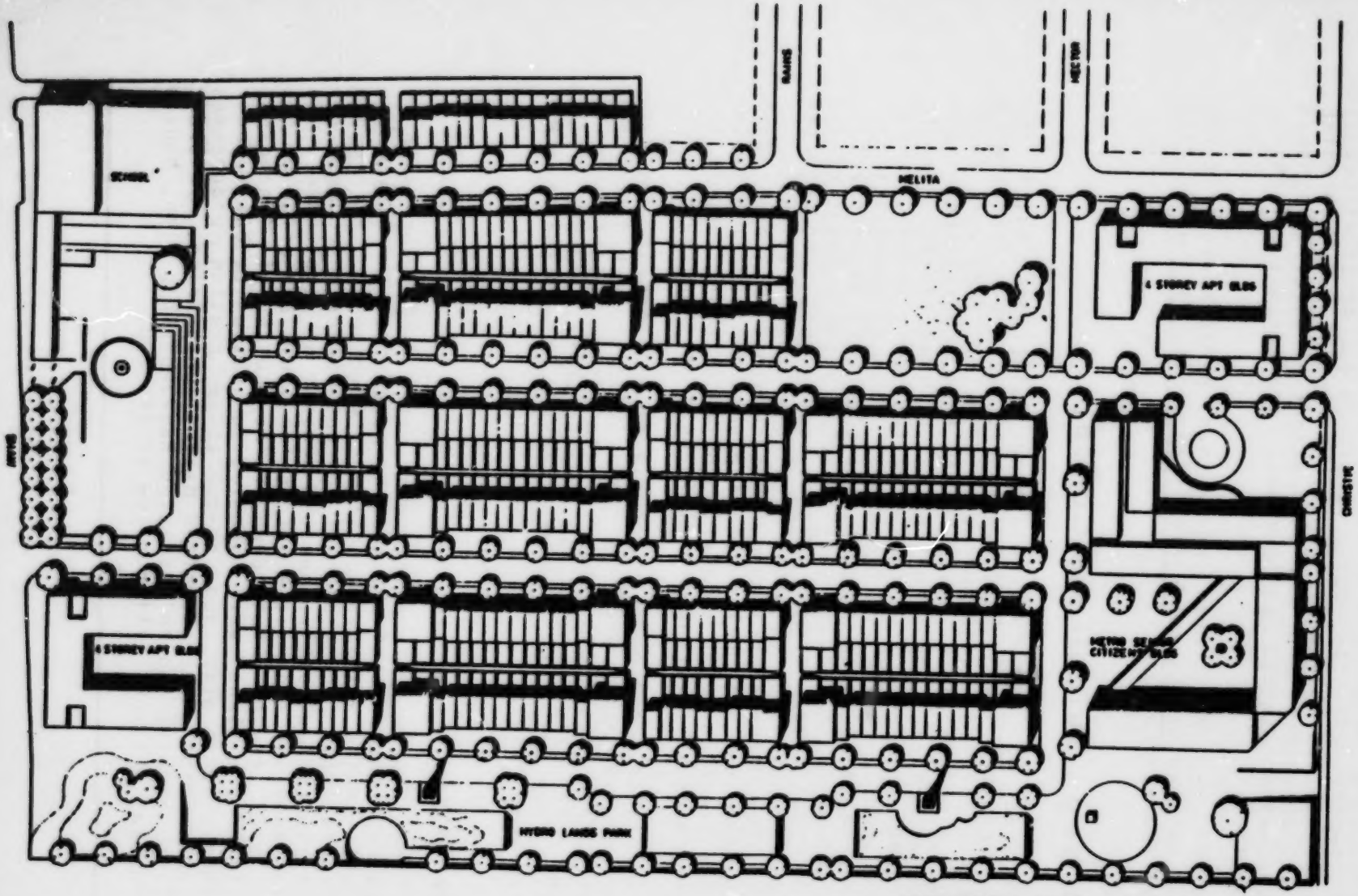
2.1 Applying Guidelines Concept

The goal of the site planning guidelines which the planners created for Frankel/Lambert was to recreate a "traditional Toronto neighbourhood". However, they were faced with two basic contradictions. First, their conception of the elements essential to creating a "traditional Toronto neighbourhood" differed from the local residents' views of what this entailed. These differences led to conflict and protracted negotiations. Second, the planners' adherence to a limited set of built form options to satisfy their image of the recreated traditional Toronto neighbourhood conflicted with the necessity of building at higher densities than traditional in order to keep the costs down. This resulted in a built form where housing and external space have been miniaturized to the point that some of the elements could no longer support the activities found in the traditional Toronto neighbourhood.

In addition, during the course of development, the City supported applications made by individual project developers for concessions and exemptions from the design guidelines. As a result, a new neighbourhood was created where elements of the built form are below the minimum standards established by CMHC and by the city itself.

2.1.A Density

In the process of development, trade-offs were made in order to keep the cost of the housing moderate. The City never lost sight of its primary objective to develop "... affordable housing primarily for those of low and moderate incomes" (9) but this impacted directly upon the density of development. In order to serve low and middle income families, the price of the housing had to be kept down. The costs of financing, construction and land were juggled so that units built under the federal non-profit and co-operative housing programmes would come within the specified Maximum Unit Price. In order to qualify for the federal Assisted Homeownership Plan, houses had an initial maximum selling price of $49,700.



PROPOSED SITE PLAN

FRANKEL/LAMBERT SITE

REF. JOB No 668/06328 DRAWN BY:

CITY OF TORONTO PLANNING BOARD SCALE 1" = 150'

COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING DIVISION OCT., 1977

The cost problem was recognized by the local resident members of the working committee but they argued that the solution lay in a lower site acquisition price, not in squeezing in more units. At a committee meeting in September 1977, George Robb, an architect and community representative, "... pointed out that paying $300,000 per acre for land was too expensive and that in his opinion City Council was ill advised to proceed with the purchase of the Frankel site". (10) On the other hand, the cost of the land was largely determined by the anticipated scale of development. Site acquisition had been based on the Commissioner of Housing's report of August 26, 1976. The report had stated that the official plan would "seem to permit" a density of 2.0 times coverage, but it advised limiting the density to 1.35. This was calculated to generate about 1,400 dwelling units in the new neighbourhood. The report conceded that "to meet community and planning concerns" the site plan design would be based on a lower density of 1.0-1.9 times coverage, producing 850-1,999 units. (11)

Michael Dennis, the Commissioner of Housing asserted:

> "The proposed density is the minimum required for the economic viability of the scheme ... the density cannot be significantly reduced without seriously endangering its viability. There is a direct relationship between the number of units we can build on site and the resultant charges or home prices".
>
> "The proposed density does not appear unreasonable in terms of the resultant physical form and social implications".
>
> "... In relative terms those densities are lower than all but one of the projects so far undertaken by this Department". (12)

The Final Rezoning Report acknowledges that the density is greater than that in the adjacent neighbourhoods. (13)

> "However", the report says, "other neighbourhoods which provide a good residential environment have similar population densities. For instance, the College, Bathurst, Harbord, Spadina area which is composed of row housing largely in multiple occupancy has 127 persons per acre, including 40 children per acre. The new development, which will accommodate a mix of household sizes was forecast to have a density of 105 persons per acre and 44 children per acre. The surrounding neighbourhood housed 65 persons per acre, with 20 children per acre". (14)

The area cited as a precedent has an unusually high density for a Toronto neighbourhood with a low rise development form. The proximity to the University of Toronto makes it an attractive area for students who may accept lower quality

living conditions than those considered minimal later in life. At the same time, houses in this neighbourhood were roomier than those proposed for the Frankel/Lambert site and could more readily accommodate increased densities.

Ironically, it was the previous industrial use of the site which allowed the city to increase the density of the new residential area. In Part I of the Toronto Official Plan, the site is shown located within a low density residential area where the maximum permitted density is usually 1.0 times the lot area. However, the eastern portion of the site was also designated as an area of permissible industrial use and the official plan permitted Council to pass by-laws for high density residential buildings on sites which are predominately used for industrial purposes. (15)

In 1977, the zoning on most of the site permitted commercial and industrial developments up to 5 times the lot area. On the other hand, there was a 120 foot wide strip on the south side of Melita where the only allowable development was residential at a density of only 0.6. (16)

Because of the commercial and industrial designation, it was possible to pass a new site plan by-law without having to obtain an official plan amendment which expedited development. Also, the commercial/industrial use designation made it possible under Section 2.8(a)(i) of the official plan to have an allowable density at 2.0 times coverage. The City Solicitor indicated that this was applicable to the entire site even though not all the site was previously industrial. Following this opinion, the Commissioner of Housing argued that net densities of 1.3 or 1.5 were significantly lower than the allowable density. The city finally agreed to set the overall gross density of the site at 1 times lot area. After the allocation of space for streets and parks, the area was divided into nine parcels with densities ranging from 1.2 and 2.0. (17)

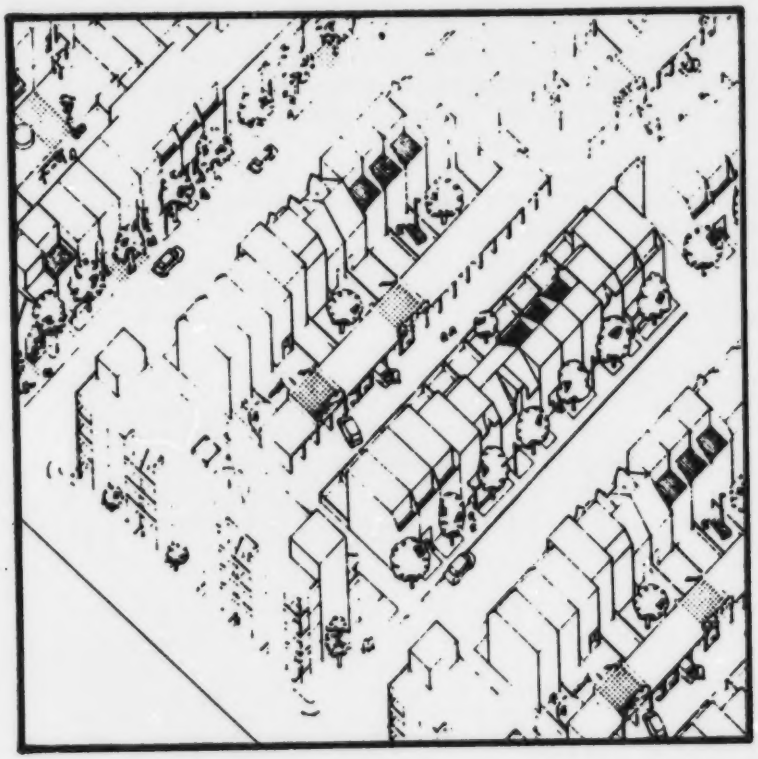
The local working committee argued that the 1.0 gross coverage was too high and that "consistency and integration with the existing neighbourhood which is .7 net coverage cannot be accomplished with a rate of coverage that is double". One member said, "the design on the site will limit the design options and that parameters, economic and physical, will affect the end result of the project. He went on to say that the proposed densities present real limitations to what some one could design on the site". (18)

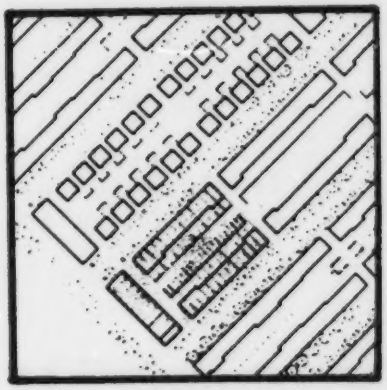
The local alderman, Susan Fish, replied, "in her mind, the question of density in terms of numbers could be dealt with better when the committee was actually reviewing designs and good design was the key to a successful project". (19)

2.1.B Form of Development

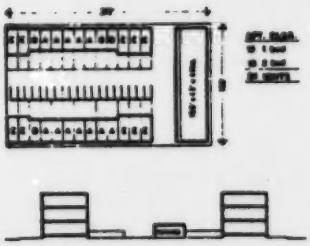
The city was committed to creating grade related housing

Fig. 2.B





10 ACRES / 10 PERCENT PARK / 500-550 UNIT



NO. OF UNITS IN BLOCK BY UNIT TYPE
10 · bach.
18 · 1 bed
18 · 2 bed
20 · 3 bed
5 · 4 bed
71 UNITS
1.0 x gross coverage

A study was done to explore the possible development pattern at Frankel/Lambert. Many of the projects actually constructed had to use block type E, a stacked townhouse. The parking arrangement shown is problematic. Extensive use of stacked housing would at least double the amount of area shown used for parking. Note small size of private open space.

Source: Littlewood, 1977.

"to suggest an active street life". Moreover, individual buildings should be small and low in scale to encourage "a sense of community". This form of development, linked with the density required, resulted in a very tight design problem.

The Housing Commissioner assured the City's Executive Committee that it would be possible to develop the bulk of the site with row houses and some semi-detached homes and that "all of the family housing will have sizable back yards". (20)

Concept drawings were prepared to test the detailed feasibility of building according to the proposed guidelines and site plan. These drawings showed some units only thirteen feet wide although the zoning by-law stipulated a minimum frontage of twenty feet. Some of the rear yards are shown as approximately square. (See Figure 2.B).

The reason for the twenty foot minimum footage, the city suggested, was "to secure general compatability within existing established neighbourhoods". The city departed from its earlier position about integrating the new development with the old. Since entirely new streets would be created within Frankel/Lambert, they proposed that minimum lot frontage requirements should not apply. (21)

As part of an effort to reduce the costs of new development the then Ontario Ministry of Housing had recently published a report Urban Standards: A Demonstration of the Potential for Reducing Costs (1976) which recommended reducing the conventional lot sizes. For street townhouse sites in metropolitan areas, a reduction from 22 x 110 ft to 18 x 80 ft was recommended, considerably larger than the lot sizes proposed for Frankel/Lambert. (22)

In practice, when the individual parcels were developed, in order to squeeze the required number of units on the small sites, the lot width was often determined by the minimum room dimensions specified in the residential standards plus the thickness of the outside walls.

Not only were the lots very narrow, they were also very shallow. The first private market housing was constructed on block two by Victoria Wood with a depth of only 17 meters compared with an average block depth of 27.4 m to 30.48 m in the neighbouring existing community. (23) Older Toronto neighbourhoods consisted of small houses and the planning objectives also asked that this characteristic be perpetuated in the new development, thereby also constraining the vertical dimension. One of the planning consultants, Allan Littlewood, noted in his report the need ...

> "To achieve the successful physical and social character of existing Toronto neighbourhoods through the creation of a variety of building types and

designs within a basic street pattern, the new neighbourhood should be as low as possible in scale and individual buildings should be kept small encouraging a sense of community. Housing should be grade related, where possible, to support an active street life". (24)

Constraints on all three dimensions of the potential development envelope -- the height, width and depth -- resulted in rooms built to minimum dimensions and the virtual disappearance of front yards. Consequently, sidewalks are far closer to living room windows than recommended in CMHC site planning criteria to maintain privacy. The amount of outdoor living space varies, but a number of units have significantly less space than CMHC's minimum requirement.

2.1.C The Grid

The layout of the streets and the dimensions of the blocks of land between them determine how people and vehicles will move through the site and establishes the areas available for development.

The street was seen as the key element in the planning of the new Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood. The Final Rezoning report said:

"..., it has been the City's practice with other recent projects, both private and public, to move towards the extension of the City street grid. For example, the new St. Lawrence Neighbourhood has been laid out in such a way as to extend all existing streets into the area and a similar objective has been identified for the Railway Lands area south of Front Street. The retention of streets and their extension into redevelopment areas has become the practice because of the unsatisfactory results experienced in the past where streets have been cut off and physical, if not social, isolation has been the result. Areas of the City as diverse as St. James Town, Regent Park and Alexandra Park are difficult to penetrate because streets do not extend into these areas from their surroundings. This problem is not only one for the motorist; experience has also shown that pedestrians are more inclined to use normal streets which are part of a complete system than special pedestrian pathways. The City tends to function as a series of connected neighbourhoods; a pattern which has worked well in the past and should continue in the future". (25)

To what extent could this new community be integrated with the surrounding community? The site is isolated from the larger neighbourhood by arterial roads on two sides, a railroad track and industrial uses on a third side. It is only on the

north side that the site is adjacent to a four block residential neighbourhood of modest two and three-storey single family dwellings constructed at the turn of the century. This enclave of existing housing provided an opportunity to implement the City's notions about integrating new developments with an established community. Hector, Rains, Marchmount and Shaw Streets were the type of residential streets planners took as a model of the "traditional Toronto neighbourhood". Although many of the semi-detached brick houses contained more than one dwelling unit, most of them were owner occupied. The majority of the residents listed Italian as their mother tongue and household income was slightly less than the city's average in 1971. (26) The planners saw this community as the healthy stock upon which the new residential area would be grafted.

Both Hector and Rains are one block long. They terminate at Dupont Street, another East-West arterial which runs along the base of a steep hillside park. The combined barrier of traffic, escarpment and park effectively cuts this area off from the larger Hillcrest community to the north. Initially, planners hoped to develop a site plan which extended these streets south through the new Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood.

The design problem of the planners was how to organize the grid system. A number of possible layouts were explored. (See Figure 2.B). The notion of integration with the existing community implied extending Hector and Rains south. Planners also wanted a direct link between the arterial roads to the east and west. However, to allay residents' fears about traffic, the streets in Frankel/Lambert were laid out in an East-west orientation and did not link up with the existing grid street pattern after all.

Although the 1977 Littlewood report recommended a street system linked to the existing community in such a way that through traffic problems were not created, today, the controversy still has not been resolved. Some of the original team of consultants still contend that the social integration of the new and old communities would be better if Hector and Rains had been extended south. (27) However, Joe Berridge, manager of the site, recollects that connecting the street grid to Hector and Rains would have meant losing too much of the site in infrastructure. He feels that the park (where the street would have been) is a visual continuation of Hector and Rains. (28)

2.1.D The Street

In designing the streets, the traditional 66 foot right-of-way with 32 foot road widths was reduced to a 50 foot right-of-way with a 28 foot road width. Early site designs show an even narrower road width. The increase to the 28 foot width was at the expense of the open space in front of the dwellings.

Planners were influenced by Jane Jacobs' observations about how sidewalks can contribute to developing an active street life. They hoped that neighbouring would take place in the street and that it would be a focus for children's play.

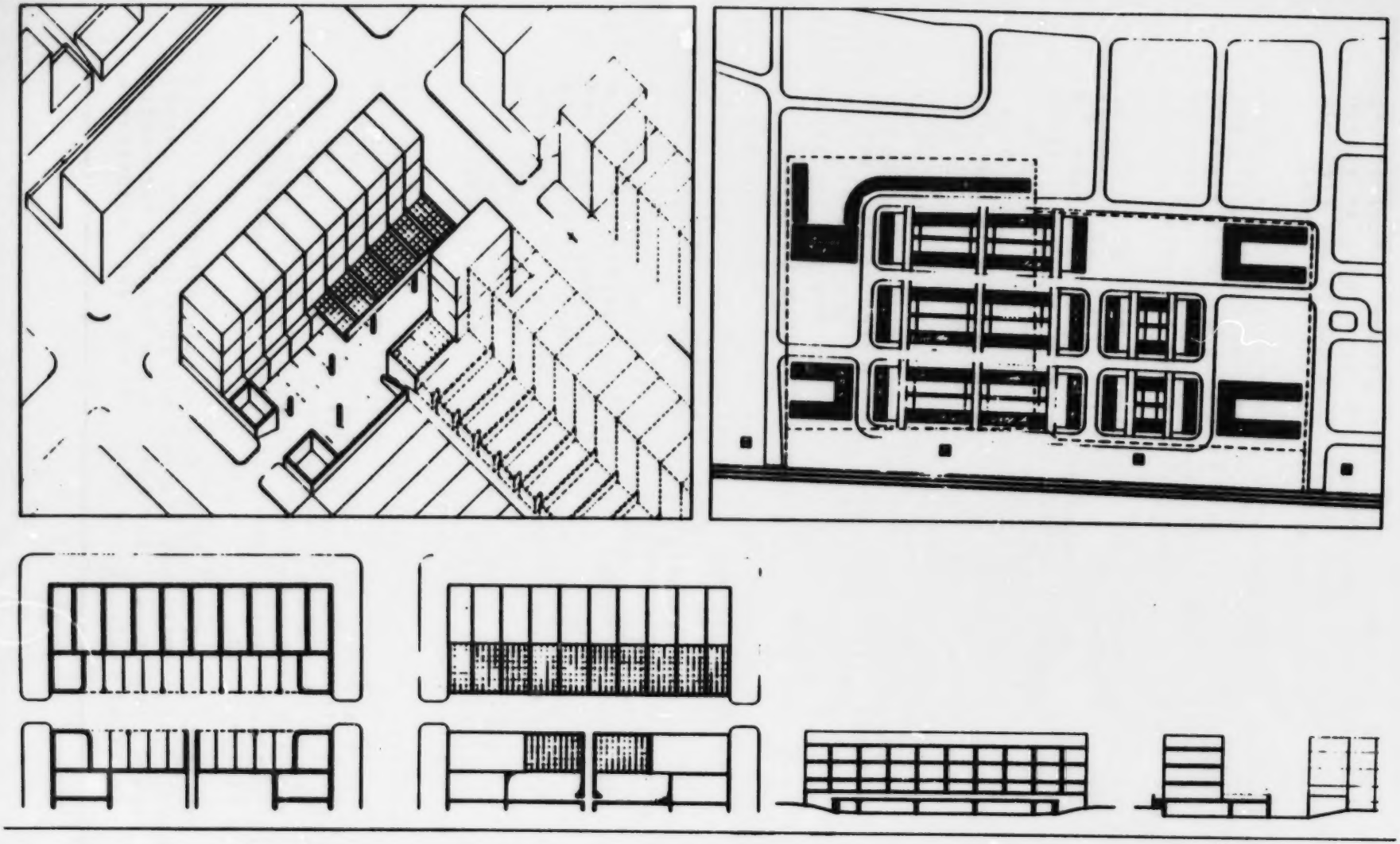
The sidewalks Jacobs advocated were thirty to thirty-five feet wide. This width "... can accommodate virtually any demand of incidental play put upon them -- along with trees to shade the activities and sufficient space for pedestrian circulation and adult public sidewalk life and loitering". (29)

She acknowledges that few sidewalks of this width can be found and says the reason is that the full range of functions of the sidewalk are not recognized. According to Jacobs, 20 feet appears to be the minimum dimension necessary for a lively sidewalk. Yet the Frankel/Lambert planners trimmed the standard Toronto sidewalk width from 6 to 5 feet. (30) Also, the streets Jacobs describes are lined with small owner-run grocery stores, bars and candy shops. The commercial activity and personal knowledge of proprietors are key elements in the social interaction among residents. However, commercial activities are prohibited in Frankel/Lambert. The two corner stores at Christie and Davenport are located so they cannot directly contribute to the life on the new streets and discussions with residents indicate that they are not perceived as contributing to the life of the new neighbourhood.

In addition, the social composition of the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood may work against the development of casual social contact with neighbours. Many research studies have demonstrated that spatial proximity results in neighbouring only under very special conditions of isolation, deprivation and social homogeneity. (31) The social planning of Frankel/Lambert was directed towards the production of a heterogenous neighbourhood, in terms of income, tenure and culture. Mixing of income groups was an integral part of the development strategy, and this was reinforced by building enclaves for renters, homeowners and co-op members. There is a difference in average income between the three groups and interviews revealed that each tenure group tends to associate primarily with others within the same group.

The pattern of socializing within the group is particularly strong in the co-operatives. Co-operative projects were developed on sites a block deep. The outdoor social activity within the co-op is likely to be at the rear of the dwellings or in the courtyards. Co-op sites bisected by the streets would have been more in keeping with the planners' philosophy, although this may have been detrimental to the functioning of the co-op.

The combination of a high degree of heterogeneity, a neighbourhood design which has planned out occasions for casual contacts around stores or services, and a housing form which does not provide for spaces for choice and maintenance



FRANKEL / LAMBERT

Study done to demonstrate potential parking solution. Note the underground parking garage associated with apartment building and decked over parking for townhouses.

Fig. 2C

Source: Diagram from background report for Notice of Application to the Zoning by-law Frankel-Lambert Development, August 1977.

activities near the dwelling creates a situation where street life will be limited.

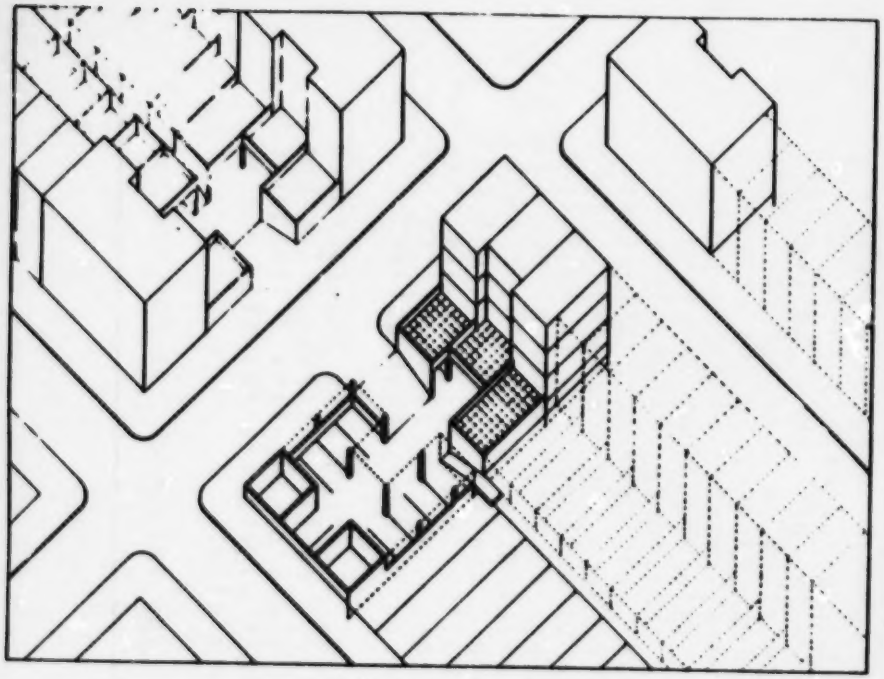
2.1.E Parking

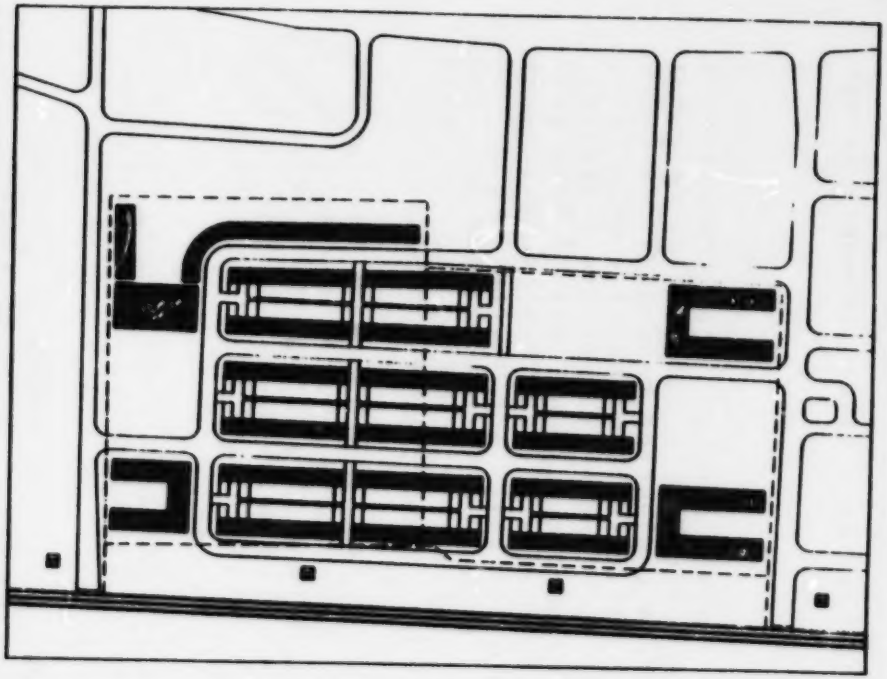
The traditional Toronto neighbourhood that the planners sought to emulate had been built before car parking became a significant land use and chronic planning headache. In those few areas in Toronto where the grid is bisected by a back lane, parking is accommodated easily at the rear of the property. These blocks are usually deep and there is no loss of back yard space. A number of these back lanes are narrower than current standards would allow and are not paved nor is the snow plowed by the city. Although this level of maintenance and maneuverability may be acceptable to residents of established neighbourhoods, the city could not develop to these standards.

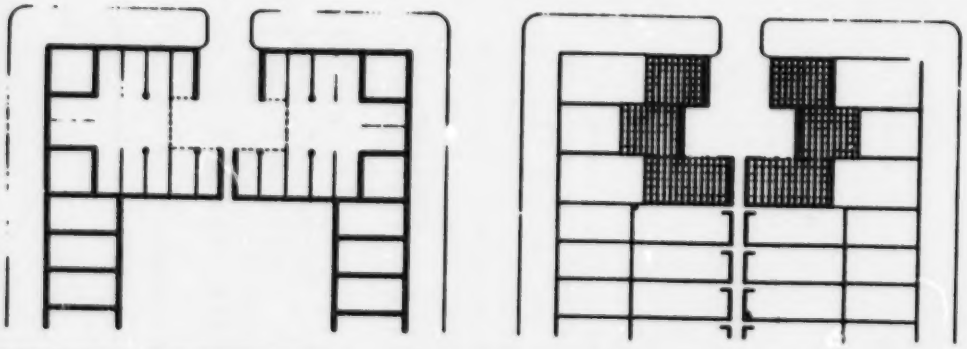
In areas without laneways, cars and driveways have tended to encroach on front yards. When there were narrow lots, this turned the streetscape into a virtual parking lot. Overnight permit parking on the street does not suffice for the demand, does not provide a regular, assured parking space, and makes visitor parking difficult.

Because of these problems throughout the city, parking studies dominated site planning discussions. The Commissioner of Housing spelled out the dilemma:

> "The provision of parking and the design of parking areas is a considerable problem in block development of this type. A considerable amount of study has gone into determining the range of possible forms. One of these forms, which has been called the "parking corral", is detailed in this report. This particular parking configuration would not, however, be mandatory and there are a number of other parking solutions that might be selected. One solution that would not be generally acceptable, except to a very limited degree, would be direct off-street, under-unit parking since such an arrangement has a negative impact on the streetscape and is something of a hazard to children playing on the street and sidewalk. Underground parking would also be strongly discouraged (except under apartment buildings) and since the block feasibility studies indicate that other, cheaper solutions are available, it is unlikely that developers would select that option".
>
> "Much of the earlier site planning work experimented with forms of back lane parking, trying solutions that used one or both sides of the lane. The basic conclusion is that block widths are insufficient to permit that option successfully".
>
> "In order to provide an adequate lot for the new







Parking study shows an under building parking solution with private open space on garage roof.

FRANKEL / LAMBERT

SUPPORT HOUSING

Fig.2D

Source: Diagram 2 from background report for Notice of Application to the Zoning by-law Frankel-Lamert Development, August 1977.

> units, a double-loaded back lane block would have to have a dimension in excess of 200 feet. Applying such a width overall on the site would result in a very significant loss in the overall number of units". (32)

The corral parking scheme proposed proved to be unacceptable to the Public Works Department because it required backing into the street, a shared drive and a high degree of co-operation between the car owners sharing the corral. It is questionable whether the average driver would have had the skill to maneuver. Although the report does not rule out the possibility of some parking off the street, under the units, this solution was not allowed. When proposed for the Victoria Wood development, this solution would have only been used on one side of the streetscape. Yet the developer was required to place the parking at the back of the units, thereby bringing the car up to and slightly under the deck, eliminating any backyard space.

The report states that the blocks are too shallow for back lane parking to be used satisfactorily, but, in fact, this solution had to be used extensively to meet other city requirements. Although the blocks are shallower than in traditional neighbourhoods, the lanes are wider. The only place where it has not had a serious negative impact on the habitability of the private open space is in the West York development. Here, those responsible for applying the design guidelines in phase two of construction, allowed cars to be parked under decks.

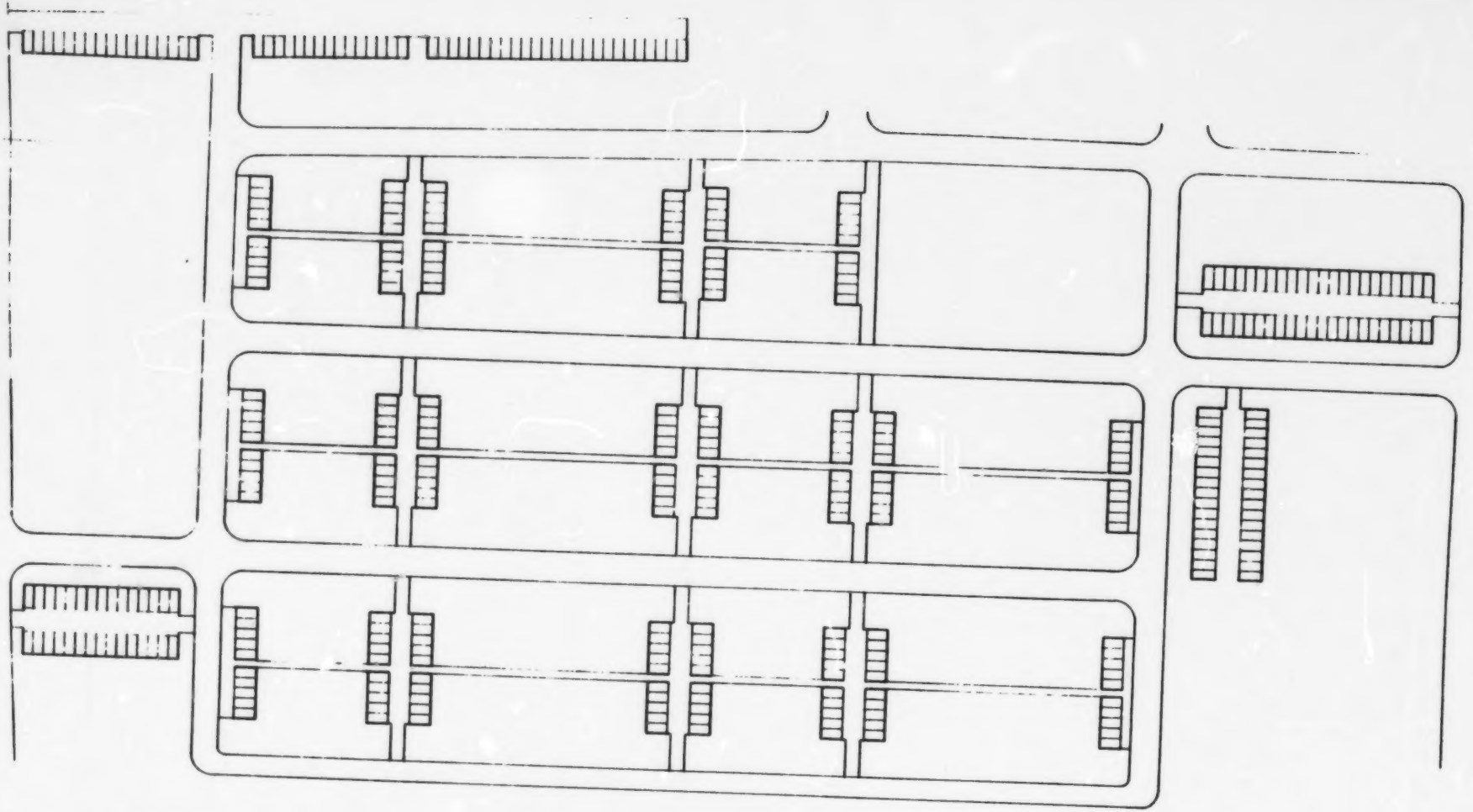
Underground parking was also considered undesirable. There were concerns about safety, but as Joe Berridge explained, the appearance of the streetscape was the most significant factor:

> "Underground parking would have helped and may have been more preferrable to the residents but it would have ruined the streetscape with rows of doors, garages and ramps, and it also would have led to internal layout problems". (33)

Another way to tackle the parking problem was to reduce the amount of parking required from the City's standard of one space per dwelling. Different parking standards were created for assisted housing, housing suitable for families with children and senior citizen housing. As outlined in the Final Rezoning Report (1977), the City adopted the following parking standards: (34)

1. for buildings other than dwelling units of assisted housing -- 1 parking space per unit;

2. for assisted housing with 2 or more bedrooms, with the lowest floors within 3 storeys of ground - 1 parking



FRANKEL / LAMBERT

PARKING

This solution appears to assume a lower density solution or a significantly lower parking requirement.

Fig.2- E

Source: From Background Report for Notice of Application to the Zoning by-law, Frankel Lambert Development, September 1977.

space for every two dwelling units;

3. for dwelling units of assisted housing with less than 2 bedrooms - 1 parking space for every 3 units;

4. for seniors' housing - 1 parking space for every 10 units.

Although the standards were lower than those specified in the zoning by-law for all units except the ownership units, the report said that this was in keeping with standards found satisfactory for other assisted housing. (35) The parking difficulties which would emerge at St. Lawrence before the year was out probably were not yet evident. However, Frankel/Lambert did not enjoy the central location in the City which had led planners to believe that car ownership would be below the City average. Further, the citizens' representatives on the working committee argued that the plans did not provide for enough parking.

The parking standards appear to be based on some dubious behavioral assumptions, namely that assisted housing residents will have between one-half and one-third the number of cars as homeowners and that assisted housing residents in the ground related family units will have more cars than one or two adults living four storeys above ground. A reduced level of parking for senior citizens housing has caused problems in many locations, both from the standpoint of a continuing high level of car ownership and use among the young-elderly and a less severe problem of visitor parking for the frail elderly.

On-street parking on one side only was allowed for visitors and deliveries. The traditional function of a street in providing resident parking was ignored. This proved fortunate because when the site was occupied the new residents were able to lobby their local alderman and obtain overnight parking by permit on the street. This provided a remedy for the absolute shortage of resident parking but not for residents' dissatisfaction with the parking provided.

In summary, while alternative parking arrangements received a great deal of attention from planners, the shallow block design made all the solutions problematic. In addition, because space constraints led to further reductions of parking standards below minimum requirements for private development, demand for parking spaces resulted in the use of the street for this purpose.

2.1.F Community Services and Open Spaces

The city had the most direct control over the planning and development of the community services and the open spaces in parks, playground, streetscape and the private open spaces associated with the two Cityhome apartment buildings.

Therefore, it is in these areas one would anticipate that the environment as built would most closely resemble the intentions spelled out in the planning documents. Yet it is in these areas that the problem of flexible standards becomes most evident.

Planners hoped that savings, as well as social integration, could be achieved if the new community shared already existing facilities such as schools, a recreation centre, library, parks, daycare centres and shopping -- rather than providing space for these in Frankel/Lambert.

The Housing Department argued that the community was already well served with shopping facilities including a large supermarket within walking distance at Shaw and Dupont.(36) The Galleria, a major shopping plaza at Dufferin and Dupont 9 blocks to the west, and small convenience stores on Davenport Road, a block to the north of the site. Buses on Christie Street connect to the Bloor subway 9 blocks to the south.

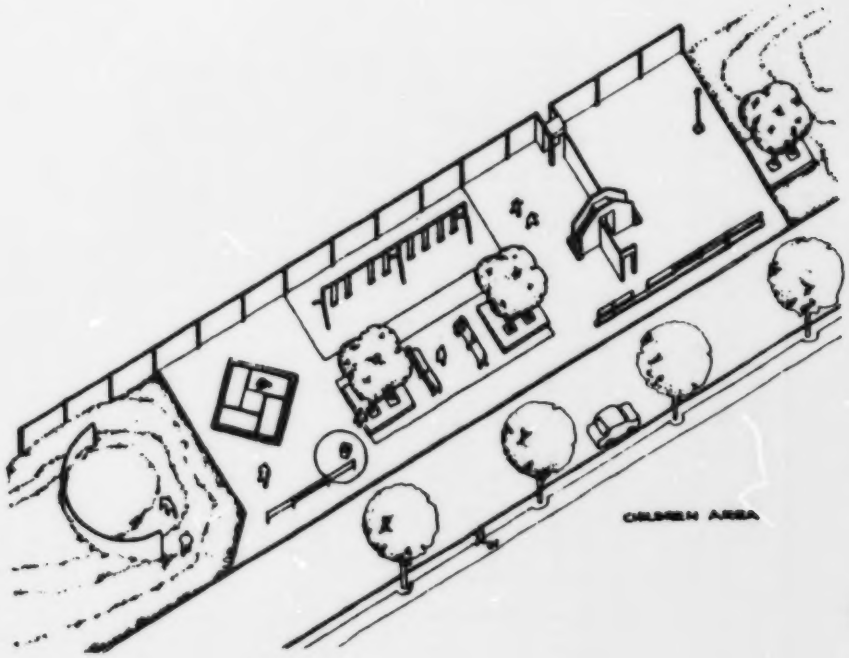
Studies showed that there was adequate capacity in the public schools (37) in the area and, therefore, it was unlikely that the Ministry of Education would provide capital financing to the Toronto Board of Education to construct an elementary school on the site. However, St. Bruno had been operating as a temporary school, housed in portables on leased land, before the inception of the development and the Metropolitan Separate School Board was willing to build a school to accommodate approximately 730 children. (38) The site plan proposal reserved parcel 1 for a school and play ground. Because the provincial government had not endorsed the Board's application for funding, the parcel was assigned a maximum density of 1.2 times lot area so that if funding was not forthcoming, the site could be used for housing. Some working party members were worried that the school might not materialize and that using the parcel for housing would further increase the number of new residents in the area. (39) The city agreed to reserve an acre of parcel 1 for active recreation if the school and its play ground did not go ahead.

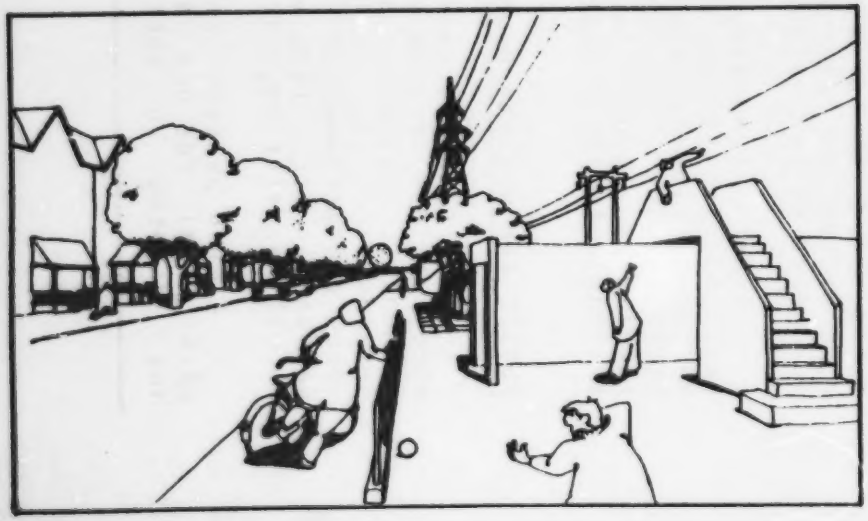
Littlewood's planning proposals envisioned a school building "... as small as possible to avoid a large part of the site being dominated by a school area and building. "It can be argued", Littlewood said, "that a better educational environment is created in smaller schools". Therefore, he recommended a building to accommodate from 500 to 600 children. (40)

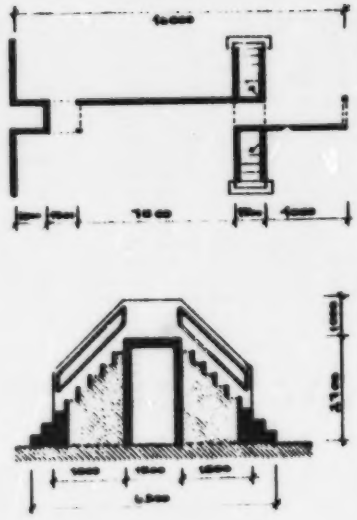
The site planning proposals saw a need for the school "to make a substantial contribution to the success of the new community over and above its normal educational function". The report also said:

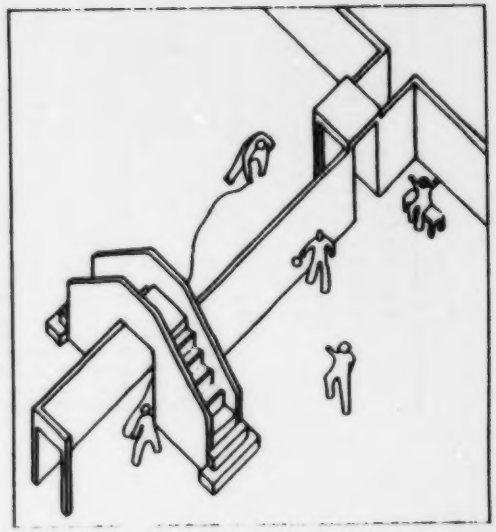
> "The need for an after-school program, for day-care and for after hours' use of gymnasium and other

Fig.2-F









STAIRS OVER SOUND WALL

facilities have been identified as worthy of further consideration. The provision of any such facilities could be a condition of any conveyance of a school site to the City". (41)

Despite concern about incorporating community services into the school, these were not built. According to the former principal of St. Bruno's, the Separate School Roard had plans drawn up to accommodate facilities for community use if the city had been willing to pay for the extra spaces. However, discussions of these options did not occur since the Board did not want to jeopardize or delay construction after negotiations with three levels of government to obtain the site . (42) Although the Commissioner of Housing told the Neighbourhoods Committee that, "The facilities provided by the school will be an important part of the community infrastructure" and "accordingly, the site should not be sold to the Metropolitan Separate School Board until such time as an agreement respecting community use of facilities is secured"(43), no initiative came from the city". (44) Therefore, the day care, larger library and community meeting spaces that the working group and planning consultant had regarded as important were not built.

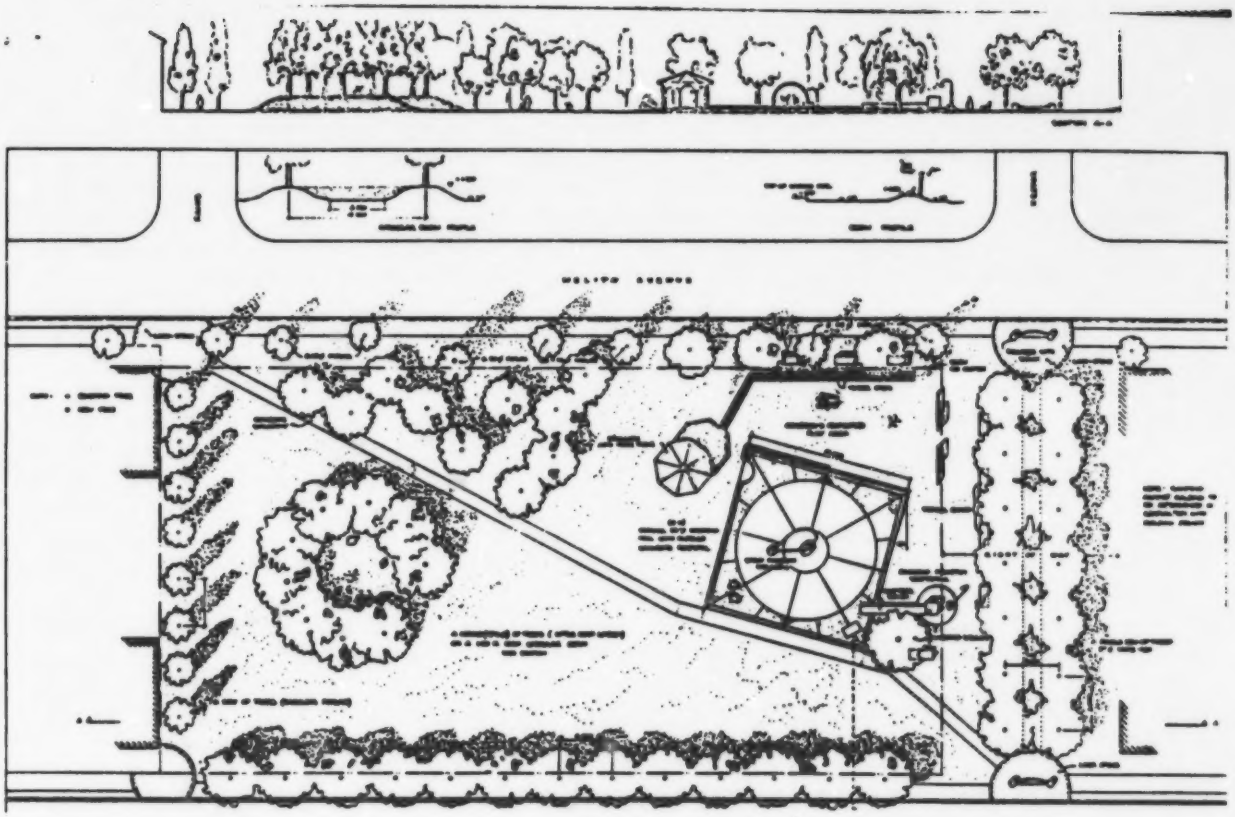
Now there is no room to add them within the community. For the past two years, residents have been actively campaigning for a library, but few sites are available in the larger community and, of course, they are costly. Lack of day care facilities is particularly acute in a new neighbourhood which has both young families and single parent families. The school did build a double gymnasium and this is used by Parks and Recreation for a summer program and this is a positive influence on the neighbourhood.

Other community services were to be accommodated by existing facilities in the larger Hillcrest community. The Wychwood Library was studying expansion and the Hillcrest School was being remolded into a community school with facilities such as a swimming pool. An auditorium was available in the Castleview-Wychwood Towers.

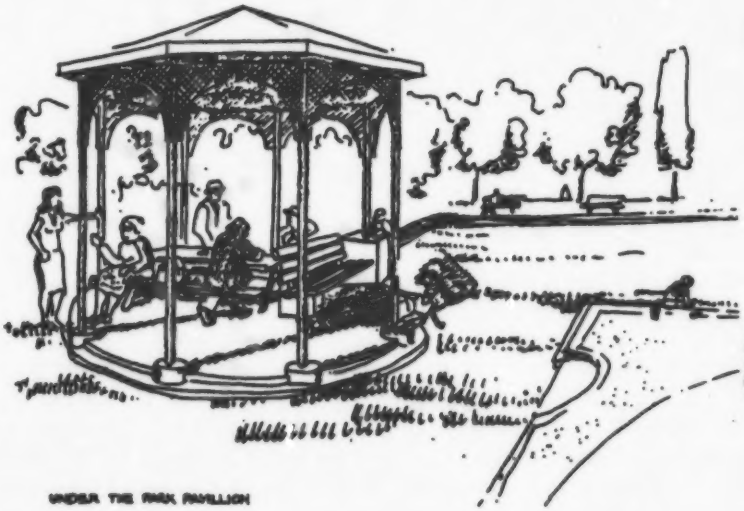
Public and Private Open Space

The planning consultants envisioned a neighbourhood with a wide variety of open spaces, both public and private. Streets, balconies, gardens, as well as new and existing parks would provide for the residents' recreational needs. Public parks were to accommodate both "specific pastimes such as football, baseball, etc. (active)" and ""non-specific pastimes such as strolling, sitting, picnicing, etc. (passive)". (45)

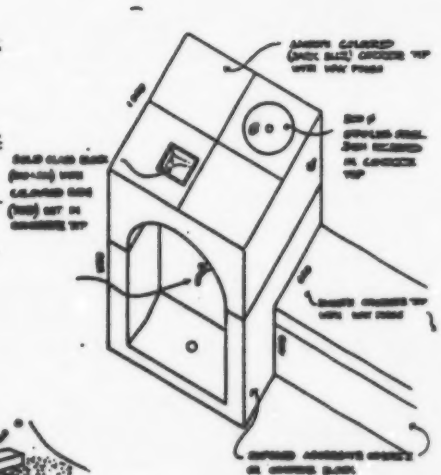
A ten percent land allocation (or 2 acres out of the total 19.4 site) for new parks was considered sufficient if one acre was devoted to active recreational activities while more

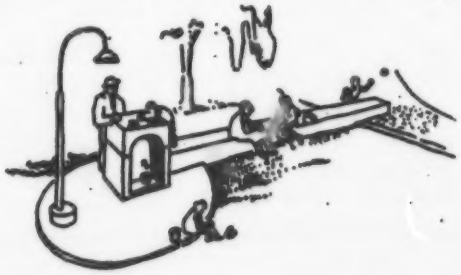


Melita Park Design



UNDER THE PARK PAVILLION





DRINKING FOUNTAIN

Littlewood 1978

Fig. 2-G

passive recreational activities were dispersed about the site.

Melita Park and the school yard would meet this space requirement. Littlewood also recommended "that the Hydro right-of-way be leased to the City and used for additional parks and recreation facilities and to provide a visual, noise and security buffer against the railway". (46) Because this land would be leased from Hydro by the City, it could not "count" as part of the two acre requirement. The streets were also seen as having a significant recreational function.

Lack of sufficient active recreation space was one of the basic objections the local residents raised about the proposed site plan. The Commissioner of Housing replied that "the scheme in fact makes ample provision for recreational space and it is well distributed within the development". The existing 5.3 acre Hillcrest Park immediately North on site on Davenport Road with tennis courts, wading pool, playground and outdoor ice rink was assumed to have surplus capcity to also meet the needs of the new residents. (47) The local residents argued that this park was already crowded in the summer. (48)

Although Hillcrest Park begins at the bottom of the hill, the active recreation spaces are at the top. Perceptually the park is distant from the site and the steep gradient is a barrier for the young, old and parents pushing a stroller.

According to the Commissioner of Parks, the school yard together with Melita Park meet the current city standards for parks. However, in 1967 proposals for a new plan for Toronto cautioned, "There is a serious shortage of parks to serve the residents of the City and a major effort will be needed to bring them up to minimum standards". If city and metro parks as well as private recreation areas were considered there was only 3.4 acres per thousand, in 1967 at a time when the City Council had "a standard of 4.6 acres per thousand as being the minimum standard that can provide a reasonable service and one that is reasonably possible to establish as an objective". (49)

The Frankel/Lambert planning documents relate park area to total site area, but a standard based on population would seem more appropriate. If 3.4 acres per thousand population is accepted as a standard and a future population of 850 is projected, the park allocation should have been about 2.9 acres. Including the Hydro right-of-way as an official part of the open space designation would bring the provision up to this level. If the 486 senior citizens are considered, then an area of 3.5 acres would be more appropriate.

The importance of the detailed design of the open space areas was clearly recognized in the site planning stages. Alan Littlewood was commissioned to prepare detailed plans for Melita Street Park and the Hydro right-of-way park as well as tree planting proposals for the streets and guidelines for the design of the school playground. (50) He carefully studied

the Hydro Park, both from the standpoint of providing a place for children's play and as a buffer from railroad noise. Some of Littlewood's design concepts were used in the final scheme but they appear in such a distorted form that their suitability cannot be assessed. The berm to buffer noise disappears and the Parks Department refused to plant large trees because the site is leased.

As in St. Lawrence, the street and the areas in front of the dwellings were seen as being an appropriate place for children to play and it was assumed that this activity contributed to the street life. However, the streets were not designed for children's play but for vehicular movement. The lanes and parking areas at the rear were viewed as potential play areas, but not detailed to make such play, if it occurred, safe.

The front yard private open space was projected to make an important contribution to the amenity of the new neighbourhood and the recreational need of the residents, particularly children. However, this space was continually whittled away. The Final Rezoning report required a 1.5 meter (about 5 feet) set back. (51) Initially, porches, balconies and verandahs were not permitted to encroach over the set back. But a year later, the Commissioner of Planning sought and obtained amendments to the planning standards. He told the City Executive:

> "This provision of the Zoning By-law is considered to be unnecessarily restrictive for the Frankel/Lambert development where there is a detailed site plan control and where it is hoped to encourage facilities such as front porches which have traditionally contributed to the social and physical amenities of Toronto neighbourhoods". (52)

Therefore, he requested an exception so that in Frankel/Lambert it was permissible for the projection from the main front wall of a building into the setback to a maximum distance of 1 meter of balconies, porches, verandahs, stairs, enclosed storage sheds, and bay windows above grade. This has the effect of reducing the amount of usable open space in the front yard and further reducing the "buffer" area between the building and the street.

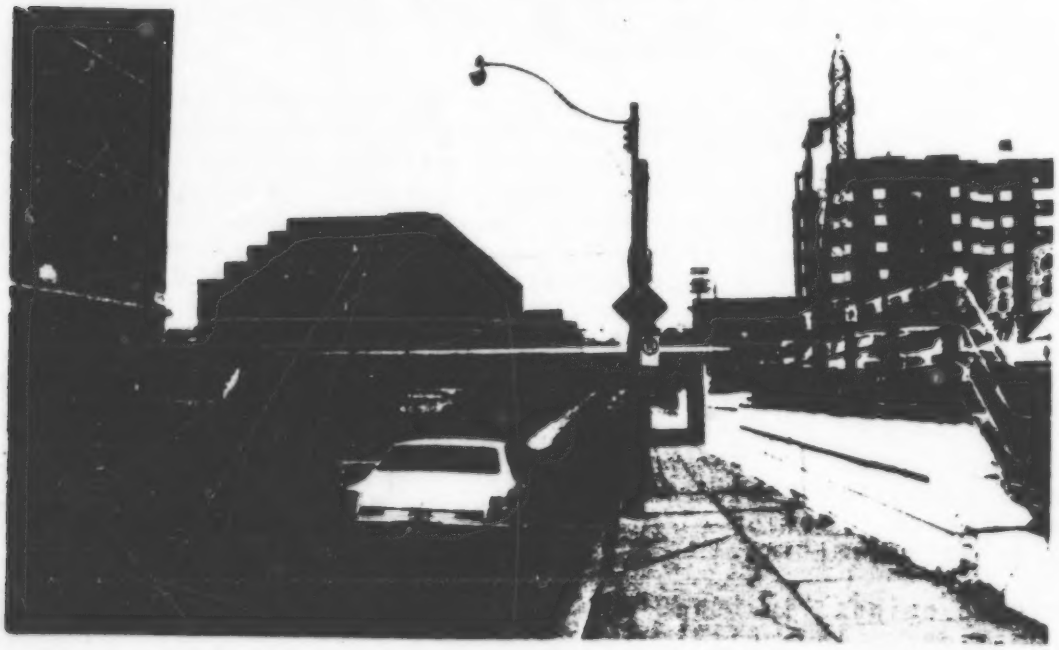
If front porches and balconies were important and their traditional role was still valid, the logic of why they should be encouraged at the expense of the traditional front yard is not explained. Clearly, the porch and yard were viewed as independent elements, not as an integral components of the transitional, semi-public zone between the public sidewalk and the private dwelling.

Reductions in the amount of landscaped open space also were made. The Final Rezoning report had set a 50 per cent

Context-Arterial Roads

Davenport Road is the major arterial south of the railroad tracks

Christie is the major north-south arterial road. Beyond the railroad tracks, on the left is the new senior citizens residence and nursing home. The existing Home for the Aged is on the right.



standard for the landscaped open space for the two Cityhome apartment buildings and the senior citizens building. (53) This was cut to 40% on the basis that the Central Area Plan Review argued against quantitative standards and suggested that qualitative and functional characteristics of the spaces were more significant in determining the success and use of these areas. The amendment request did not explore what the functional or qualitative character might be that would warrant the reduction to the quantitative standard. (54) The case for reducing the amount of landscaped open space appears to have been based on the assumption that adults and seniors do not require what has been defined as a minimum open space standard. Even if the dubious proposition is accepted, parcels 5 and 9 are the sites of Cityhome apartment buildings which do house a number of families with children.

A new concept, "personal recreation space" was introduced. Personal recreation space is considered to be private space and may take the form of an enclosed patio, balcony or sunroom. The report says that these areas are in addition to the "landscaped open space" provisions in the zoning by-law. The relevance of the commissioner's assertion that these standards are greater than those established for the Central Area is unclear; Frankel/Lambert is not in the central area.

Having cut the landscaped open space requirement to 40% in those developments ostensibly for seniors and adults, it was reduced to 30% for the other parcels of land where more family housing was anticipated. The justification for this move appears to have been that these were grade related units. At the same time, it was argued that the reduction was necessary in order to fit in more grade related units. (55)

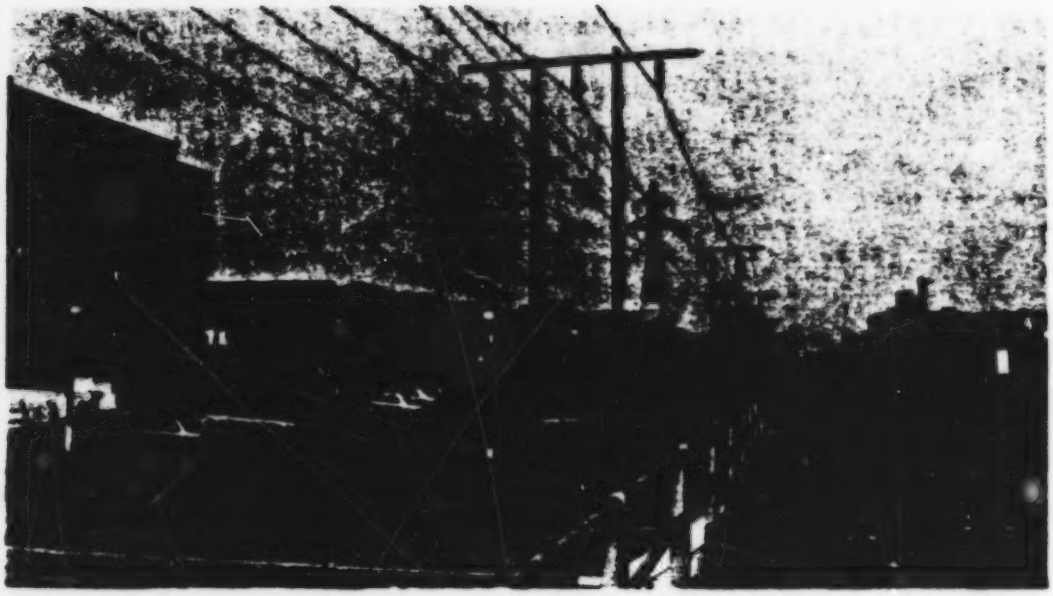
The city's measures of landscaped open space and personal recreation space differ from CMHC's outdoor living area (OLA). (56) The CMHC standards call for larger areas than provided in almost all Frankel/Lambert projects. CMHC's standards are very similar to the actual open space in the adjacent traditional streets of Hector and Rains.

2.2 Railroad Tracks

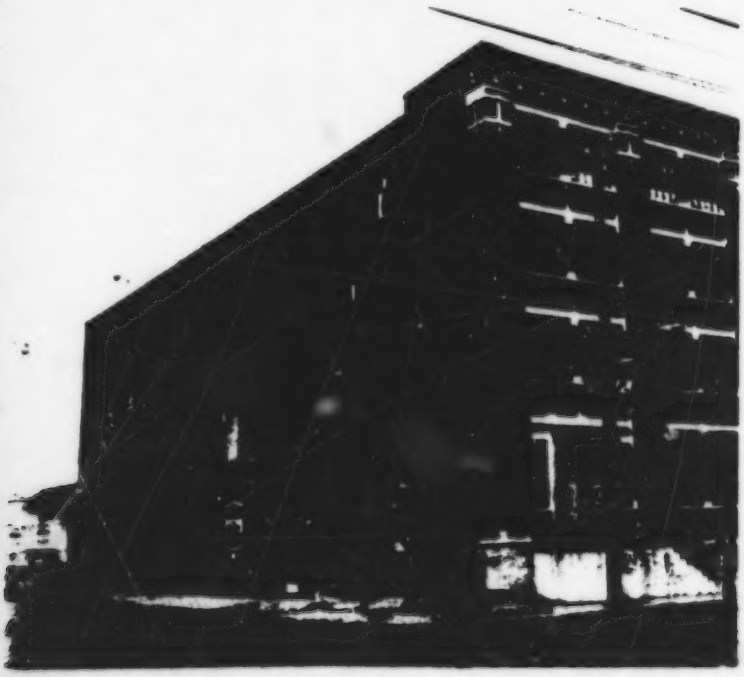
One aspect of the site which made it less than desirable for residential uses and required sensitive planning and design decisions to mitigate potentially negative impacts was the railroad tracks defining the southern boundary of the site which posed both potential noise problems and threats to child safety.

The Canadian Pacific Rail tracks define the southern edge of the site and this boundary definition is reinforced by an arterial road, Dupont, to the south, lined with commercial and industrial uses. During the initial stages of site plan design, the city appears to have been worried about noise

Context-Southern Boundary



The railroad tracks and hydro corridor define the southern boundary



Factories on the south side of the tracks near the site

problems from the railroad tracks. Forty to 80 freight trains use these tracks daily. A noise consultant was hired and a report prepared. However, it is not clear what influence it may have had on the design and construction of the project. The berm proposed for the Hydro Park was not constructed.

At the time of the preparation of the Frankel/Lambert site plan, there was concern about residential developments on sites which were affected by railroad noise. In 1977, CMHC published an Advisory Document Road and Rail Noise: Effects on Housing. (57) The stated intention was that the recommendations become mandatory standards for non-profit and co-operative housing where CMHC provided either subsidies or direct financing. CMHC does not provide subsidies or direct financing where noise levels exceed 75db. Adequate sound insulation is required where noise levels are between 55 and 75db. Caution is advised when buildings are constructed within 100 meters of a railway because of high vibration levels within the dwelling due both to airborne noise and vibration. If building takes place, heavy weight construction and other vibration control measures are suggested.

2.3 Summary

The guideline approach had been introduced to provide a flexible way of directing the development of Frankel/Lambert. Many of the guideline requirements were "... made applicable through the land lease or sale agreements" with the individual developers. (58) One can wonder if a private entrepreneur would have been allowed to proceed on this basis. In application were guidelines used flexibly to help promote good design or did they simply prove to be pliable to the realities of trying to fit the required number of units onto the site? Repeatedly, City representatives stressed that the guideline approach was concerned with design quality. Yet, when it came to applying the design principles to those parts of the site that the city was most directly responsible for -- the open spaces and the street space landscaping -- the quality promised by the design studies did not materialize.

Footnotes: Section 2

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2. Klein and Sears and Damas and Smith (1974), Core Area Housing Study Prepared for the City of Toronto, December.

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5. Ibid, p 110.

6. Zeidler Partnership (1975), St. Lawrence: Design Guidelines, April, No. 6, p 55.

7. Ibid, p 23.

8. City of Toronto Housing Department (1976), St. Lawrence Preliminary Site Plan, pp 55-57.

9. Alan Littlewood, (1977) Frankel/Lambert Status Report. Toronto: City of Toronto Housing Department, April 1977, p 8.

10. Minutes Frankel/Lambert Working Committee Meeting, September 14, 1977.

11. Extract from Report No. 20 of the Committee on Neighbourhoods, Housing, Fire and Legislation contained in Executive Committee Report No. 40 as adopted by City Council on September 15, 1976, p 4.

12. Ibid, p 8.

13. Ibid, p 23.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid, p 8.

16. Ibid, p 12.

17. Ibid, pp 14-16.

18. Frankel/Lambert Working Committee to the Neighbourhoods, Housing, Fire and Legislative Committee, Memo of October 24, 1977, p 1.

19. Extract from Report No. 20, op. cit., p 31.

20. 9 September 1977.

21. Extract from Report No. 20 of the Committee on Neighbourhoods, Housing, Fire and Legislation contained in Executive Committee Report No. 46 as adopted by City Council on November 7, 1977, p 24.

22. Ontario Ministry of Housing (1976), A Demonstration of the Potential for Reducing Costs.

23. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, unpublished.
24. Littlewood, op. cit., p 8.
25. p 21.
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27. A. Littlewood, February 1982. Interview.
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29. Jacobs, Jane (1961), Death and Life of Great American Cities. New York: Random House, p
30. A. Littlewood, February 1982, Interview.
31. Herbert Gans (1968), People and Plans, Basic Books, New York.
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33. Berridge, February 1982. Interview.
34. Report No. 2 of the Committee on Neighbourhoods, Housing, Fire and Legislation as Amended and Adopted by City Council at its meeting held on February 13 and 15, 1978, p 6.
35. Extract from Report No. 20, op. cit., p 25.
36. Ibid, p 17.
37. Littlewood, op. cit., p 14.
38. Ibid, p 15.
39. Frankel/Lambert Working Committee (1977), Comments Related to the Report entitled, "Progress of Site Planning", July 19, 1977, p 3.
40. Littlewood, op. cit., p 14.
41. Extract from Report No. 20, op. cit., p 25.
42. Mr. Scaini (1982), February 17, 1982. Interview.
43. Extract from Report No. 20, Ibid.
44. Scaini, op. cit.
45. Littlewood, op. cit., p 20.
46. Ibid, p 7.
47. Ibid, p 20.
48. Frankel/Lambert Working Committee, op. cit., p 5.
49. Department of the City Clerk. Recommendation contained in Clause No. 25 of Report No. 48 (1977) of the City of Toronto Executive Committee as adopted by City Council on November 21, 1977.

3 RESIDENTS' EXPERIENCE

3.0 Who Lives at Frankel/Lambert?

The population attracted to the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood closely resembles population trends found in the city as a whole: families with young children are in a minority; young adults are the predominant age group; there is a high proportion of single parents. Household size is close to the city norm with a preponderance of one and two-person households. A range of income groupings is represented.

The 1981 census revealed major demographic shifts in the population of the City of Toronto during the period 1971-1981 which have implications for housing and community services. Demographic changes include a changing age structure due to the decline of the school age population and an increase in the number of seniors; smaller size households with single persons the fastest growing household form; a greater diversity of household types with the growth of non-family and lone parent families.

Few of these changes in household and family composition were explicitly anticipated and addressed when Frankel/Lambert was in the planning stages, and indeed, the initial planning documents have little to say about the characteristics of the residents who would live at Frankel/Lambert. Only Littlewood's report alludes to the future residents. Frankel/Lambert is seen as "providing affordable housing primarily to those of low and moderate incomes; providing a high proportion (35-55%) of family housing for families with children (1); aiming for a tenure mix of 25-35% ownership, 65-75% non-profit, 250 units for seniors." In allocating the homeownership units, there was an expectation that ethnic residents already in the neighbourhood would be attracted to these units. To what extent were the planners' expectations of the eventual residents met? Did residents' characteristics differ from projections and how does this affect the fit between neighbourhood environment and users?

The 1981 Census provides a picture of the population of Frankel/Lambert on completion of Phase I of the development which included 53% of the 584 units of family housing on the site. The Constance Hamilton Coop (31 units), Lotus Coop (80 units), one Cityhome development (96 apartments) and 66 private freehold townhouses were still under construction at the time of the census. Thus, the Census provides a very incomplete picture of the structure of the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood although certain trends may be discerned.

Another source of data on population characteristics of Frankel/Lambert residents are the responses of 220 households to a survey conducted by the City of Toronto Housing Department in July 1983. However, these data are also fragmentary since the total response rate was 38% with a low of 15% from some parts of

the development. As a result, there is no completely accurate or definitive source for determining the current population characteristics of residents living in the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood.

One of the objectives of the planners of Frankel/Lambert was to create a traditional Toronto neighbourhood with a high proportion of family housing; a mix of income groups through the provision of three types of tenure and rent supplements to a proportion of the units. An analysis of the City of Toronto Housing Department surveys and 1981 Census data reveals the extent to which Frankel/Lambert achieved these goals. A comparison with 1981 census data for the City as a whole allows us to assess the degree to which Frankel/Lambert is "typical" of a Toronto neighbourhood. A brief comparison with the St. Lawrence neighbourhood which is seen as a "downtown" neighbourhood built at much higher densities provides a comparison of the extent to which Frankel/ Lambert was able to live up to its objectives of providing a lower density "family" housing environment in keeping with the surrounding neighbourhood.

3.1 Age Distribution

In the decade of 1971-1981, the City of Toronto experienced a decline of 31% in the population aged 0-19. This group comprised 23% of the total city population in 1981. From the 1981 census Frankel/Lambert mirrors this trend with 22.3% of residents aged 0-19 and 16.5% under the age of 10 in 1981 (Figures 3-A and 3-B). Among Cityhome residents, there is a higher proportion of children 0-19 than on the 1 site as a whole - 32% of the population (Table 3-A). (All tables in this chapter are in Appendix A.)

Frankel/Lambert has attracted a predominantly young adult population. According to the City of Toronto survey, the average age of the Frankel/ Lambert resident is 27, with a median age of 29 (Figure 3-A). In contrast, the residents living in Phase I of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood were slightly older with an average age of 29 years, and median age of 28 (2). While young adults 20-34 years of age comprised 31% of the City's population (3) at Frankel/Lambert the 1981 census found that they constituted 43.9% of all residents (Figure 3-B). In the next age group, 25-34, the city survey found 32% of all residents (compared with 29% for the 81 census) (Figure 3-A). St. Lawrence attracted an even larger number in this age group (36%).

There is no accurate and up-to-date information on the number of seniors currently living at Frankel/Lambert as both the 1981 Census and the City Survey were conducted prior to the construction of the senior citizens housing project, Christie Gardens, in 1984.

3.2 Household Structure

Initial planning documents projected that Frankel/Lambert should provide a high proportion (35-55%) of family housing for families with children. In 1981, the Census found that 57% of private households were families with children compared with 73% in the neighbouring census tract (Table 3-B). Following a city wide trend, 28.4% of the Frankel/Lambert population was not in families contrasted with 12% in the adjacent area (Table 3-C).

Similarly, the City Survey also found that Frankel/Lambert seems to attract a "family" population: 44% of households have at least one child living at home, 19% have more than two children at home (Table 3-D). The city survey of Frankel/Lambert found 28% of residents to be younger than 18 years of age compared with 28% in the 1981 census and 27% in the age group in Phase I of St. Lawrence.(4)

According to the 1981 census, Frankel/Lambert attracts a disproportionately high percentage of lone parent families compared with their representation in the city's population (24.3% compared with 14.9% in the city and only 10% in the surrounding neighbourhood (Table 3-E).

While the City Survey found that 14% of all households were single parents, 21.7% of families single parents (Table 3-F). Among households with children, the City Survey established that 32% were headed by single parents (Table 3-G).

Within the Cityhome projects, an even larger proportion of families are lone parents: 40% of all families in the townhouse units, 40% at 470 Melita and 17% in Lambert Court (Table 3-H). A large proportion of these families are headed by women. This is in keeping with national housing trends which show that 25% of residents in non-profit and cooperative projects are single parents, while 58% of all residents in public housing and units receiving rent supplements are also single parents (5).

3.3 Changes in Household Size

Frankel/Lambert follows the city wide trend to shrinking household size. According to the 1981 census, 2.4 persons per household is the city norm (6). While average household size in the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood was 1.99 persons per household in 1980, at Frankel/Lambert this is considerably higher at 2.6 persons per household (2.5 according to the City Survey). This is, however, much lower than the neighbouring enumeration area which has an average of 3.9 persons per household (Table 3-J). In effect this means that while the density of housing at Frankel/Lambert is twice that of the surrounding neighbourhood, the density of persons per households is 66% lower than in the adjoining enumeration area. Factors affecting the drop in household size, include fewer or no children, dominance of non-family age groups, rise in divorce rate, and undoubling (7).

Frankel/Lambert reflects the city's tendency to smaller households with 43% of private households only two persons compared with 30% in the surrounding neighbourhood and 37% in the city as a whole (Table 3-J). According to the city survey, 37% of Frankel/Lambert residents live in two person households, 17% in three person households and 22.5% in four or more person households (Figure 3-C). A growing share of the population is living outside the traditional family unit. In the City of Toronto, single person households are the most prevalent, comprising 38% of all households (8). In Frankel/Lambert, between 24% (City Survey) and 26% (1981 Census) of all households are single persons (Table 3-K). This is reduced even further in the Cityhome projects where only 20% households are one person, 36% are two persons (Table 3-L). However, in the surrounding neighbourhood, only 7.5% of all households are single persons (Table 3-K). In contrast, the number of one person households living at St. Lawrence (43%) is much higher than at Frankel/Lambert.

In Frankel/Lambert as a whole, the Census classified 32.8% of the population as single - never married, very close to the City of Toronto figure of 35.7% (Table 3-M and (8)). These include a very high percentage of single never married women who are a "household maintainer" (20%), compared with only 13% of single never married men. In contrast, only 2.5% of single never married women in the neighbouring areas were found to be responsible for maintaining a household.

According to the 1981 Census, the percentage of male and female residents was about equal with 48% males and 52% females (Table 3-N). With such a high proportion of small households one might expect a high proportion of shared accommodation. Yet census figures show that only 2% of households reported two families living together compare with 12% in the neighbouring areas (Table 3-B). A sample of applications to the Cityhome projects at Frankel/Lambert conducted in December 1983 provides more detailed data on shared accommodation. In all the Cityhome projects, 11% of all households shared their unit with an additional person, usually a relative. This was most prevalent in Lambert Court and least likely to occur in the rental townhouses managed by Cityhome (Table 3-[illegible]).

In a comparison of Frankel/Lambert and St. Lawrence which is located in the core area, we find that St. Lawrence attracts fewer married households (35% vs 51%), more singles (37% vs 23%) and about the same number of single parents (15% vs 14%). One conclusion is that the location away from the core has attracted more families (Table 3-F and (9)).

3.4 Socio-Economic Mix

Frankel/Lambert was planned to provide moderate to low cost housing with a small proportion of homeownership units which might be expected to attract residents with slightly higher incomes. According to the City of Toronto Housing Department

survey, the average income of households in 1983 was $31,462 compared with a city wide average of $25,613 in 1981 (Table 3P and Figure 3-D). (The 1981 census shows an average household income at Frankel/Lambert of $23,240.) Median income at Frankel/Lambert was $27,000 compared with $19,867 for the city as a whole. Twenty five percent of residents earned less than the median city income. This is roughly equivalent to the proportion of units which can be given a rent supplement. However, there is a very broad range of incomes at Frankel/Lambert, ranging from less than $10,000 yearly (8%) to more than $60,000 (7%).

As might be expected, Cityhome residents are the least affluent of all tenure groups, with more than 1/5 earning less than $10,000 per year and the smallest proportion of all earning more than $30,000 yearly. At the two Cityhome developments, 75% and 71% of households earned less than the 1981 average household income for the City of Toronto. Because of the limit on the number of subsidized units, there is also a wide variation in income levels. Median yearly incomes, however, are at least two thousand dollars less than among residents of the non-profit housing cooperatives (Table 3-R).

Residents living in the cooperatives tend to be slightly more affluent than Cityhome tenants, although there are still sizable minorities at Arauco and Constance Hamilton earning less than $10,000 yearly. At Fred Dowling, 58% of residents earn less than $25,000 - the average City of Toronto income in 1981; 65% of Arauco residents earn less than the average city income. The average income of residents living at Fred Dowling and Constance Hamilton was less than the 1981 city average; the average income of households in Arauco and Lotus was greater than the city average income. Lotus seemed to have the highest household incomes of all the non-profit housing cooperatives.

The incomes of homeowners were considerably higher than either those of Cityhome or cooperative residents. Owners had median incomes of $38,000 and an average household income for residents of Victoria Wood and West York townhouses of $47,540 and $41,263 respectively. More than 79% of the homeowners earn $30,000 yearly or more while only 8-10% have incomes at the city average. From this we can conclude that the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood has indeed attracted a range of income groups but we must question whether the homeownership units provided ownership opportunities to people of moderate income.

In 1981, the census found that the tenure patterns of Frankel/Lambert and the neighbouring area differed markedly (Table 3-[illegible]). At Frankel/Lambert, 26% of private dwellings were owned, 74% of them rented; in the neighbouring area, these percentages were reversed with 87% ownership and 13% of units rented. In 1983, when the site was almost totally occupied, a City housing Department report shows that the tenure distribution was 25% (146) ownership units, 40% non-profit coops (233) and 35% (205) Cityhome rental units. Thus we see that the rate of

homeownership was at the low end of the estimate of 25-35% ownership units projected by Littlewood. In part this was due to market conditions, as 59 units designated for ownership were eventually acquired by Cityhome and Fred Dowling Coop when they could not readily be sold on the market.

Frankel/Lambert residents are drawn from a wide range of occupational groups. The largest number of respondents to the City survey were employed (59%) with 23% retired and 21% students. The largest group works in the professions or related occupations (28%) with another 28% in clerical or sales, and 13% employed in various trades. Overall, this is a well-educated group of residents: almost a third have attended university, 12% have a community college diploma, and 31% have a secondary school degree.

The trend towards a higher proportion of the city's population having English as a mother tongue is reflected at Frankel/Lambert where 61.6% of residents uses English as a first language. In the surrounding ethnic neighbourhood, only 35% of the population had English as a mother tongue (Table 3-T). This indicates that the expected ethnic population did not materialize at Frankel/Lambert.

In summary, the new neighbourhood of Frankel/Lambert was able to attract a diverse and socially mixed population which closely paralleled the population characteristics of the city as a whole. These trends had several planning implications: there was a demand for smaller rental units; site planning and services needed to satisfy a diversity of needs and not just one dominant family type; the combination of elderly residents, single parents, and working mothers created a population with a potentially high level of demand for public transportation and local community services.

Section 3.0 Footnotes

(1) Alan Littlewood. Frankel/Lambert Status Report. Prepared for City of Toronto Housing Department, April 1977.

(2) City of Toronto Housing Department. "A Resident Survey in St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. Phase 'A'". Summer 1980.

(3) City of Toronto Planning and Development Department. "1981 Census - Preliminary Examination of Trends and Implications", September 24, 1982.

(4) City of Toronto Housing Department, Op. cit.

(5) Fran Klodawsky, Aaron Spector and Catharine Hendrix. The Housing Needs of Single Parent Families in Canada. Ottawa: CMHC, March 1983, p. 7.

(6) City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, Op. cit.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

(9) City of Toronto Housing Department. "A Resident Survey in St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. Phase 'A'". Summer 1980.

4 RESIDENTS' EVALUATION

4.0 Evaluation Procedures

A measure of the success of the design and planning process is residents' satisfaction with the new residential environment. Residents' reactions were investigated in three ways:

- Residents' rating, evaluation and trade-off of environmental factors were determined using a procedure known as the "Trade-Off Game".

- Summer and winter observation studies provided insight into the actual use of outdoor spaces including parking areas. Data from these studies were also compared with the findings of another observation study done by Mario Silva for the City of Toronto Housing Department and the National Support Centre of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

- We were also given access to the results of a survey of Frankel/Lambert residents conducted by the City of Toronto Housing Department in July 1983; 220 households (37%) returned the mail-out questionnaire.

In the Trade-Off Game, residents evaluated neighbourhood quality and the importance of site planning guidelines to them. Residents were asked to attend small group meetings and were given a set of 31 cards each with one factor describing specific aspects of the residential environment such as "housing costs", "space in the dwelling", "access to shopping", etc. Residents were asked, first, to rank factors that they would look for when moving to a new neighbourhood, that is, what factors constitute a "good neighbourhood". Then they were asked to evaluate each of these factors with respect to Frankel/Lambert. A five-point scale was used with excellent evaluations receiving the most points. Finally, residents were asked if they would like to improve some aspect of their environment. To do so, they had to "trade-off" points from another aspect.

4.1 Ranking of Environmental Variables

Housing cost, not surprisingly, was identified as having the highest priority with 59% of residents ranking it among their top three criteria and 78% ranking it among the top ten. Following, in order of importance, are a safe neighbourhood, space in the dwelling, personal outdoor living space, and TTC (transit) service. In comparison, the neighbourhood characteristics judged most important to the residents of the False Creek neighbourhood in Vancouver were: safety from crime, physical appearance, not too much noise, and good public transportation.(1)

Table 4-A

ORDER OF IMPORTANCE OF ASPECTS OF RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT TO FRANKEL/LAMBERT RESIDENTS

1. Housing costs
2. Safe neighbourhood
3. Space in dwelling
4. Personal Outdoor Living Space Attached to Your Unit
5. TTC Service
6. Soundproofing Between Units
7. Access to Shopping
8. Protection from Outside Noises
9. Traffic Safety
10. Neighbourliness
11. Access to Workplace
12. Storage Space
13. Garbage Collection/Storage
14. Outdoor Space in the Whole Neighbourhood
15. Laundry Facilities
16. Snow Removal
17. Personal Parking
18. Access to Cultural and Entertainment Facilities
19. Number of People in the Neighbourhood
20. Different Lifestyles
21.* Access to Sports and Recreation Facilities, and
21.* Children's Playspace within the Whole Neighbourhood
22. Children's Playspace Associated with Your Building
23. Guest Parking
24. Access to School
25. Shared Outdoor Space for Your Building
26. Communal Space for the Building
27. Living in a Co-op
28. Access to Daycare
29. Place for Teenagers to Gather
30. Homeownership
31. Living in a Cityhome Building

* These criteria were given the same importance

Source: Simon/Wekerle Tradeoff Game

Only four of the top ten ranked factors directly related to the design guidelines (Table 4-A):

- safe neighbourhood (ranks 2)
- personal outdoor living space (ranks 4)
- protection from outside noise (ranks 8)
- traffic safety (ranks 9)

Ranking "safe neighbourhood" as second in importance is somewhat surprising in the Toronto context, given the city's reputation as a "safe" place to live. Safety is often mentioned as the primary factor in residential satisfaction in studies in other North American cities. Mention of safety as a significant factor in residential satisfaction seems to parallel local concerns about crime. This may be because safety is taken for granted and, therefore, not even thought about until there is a lack of safety.

In the group discussions, after individuals had played the game, several people mentioned that a woman had been attacked in the street several months previously. A couple of women whose bedrooms were on the ground floor were nervous and uncomfortable in sleeping in what they perceived to be a vulnerable location, however, there were no reported incidents to substantiate their concerns. The Toronto Police classify Frankel/Lambert as a "safe neighbourhood" and the local alderman perceived the neighbourhood to be a safe place to live.

There is no explicit discussion of safety and security in the planning documents despite the great attention focused on the planning and design aspects following Oscar Newman's introduction of the defensible space concept in 1972.(2) Safety and security may have been implicit in the "good neighbourhood" theme and in specific design guidelines such as locating units on the street, the avoidance of superblocks and internal walkways. At the same time, the basic planning approach, which came directly from guidelines, resulted in minimal front yards and limited separation of private space from public space. This created a situation at Frankel/Lambert which previous research has shown contributes to a concern for safety and security on the part of residents.(3)

The space of the dwelling unit itself ranks among the top three considerations for one quarter of respondents and among the top ten for 62% (Table 4-B). Personal outdoor living space ranks fourth in overall priority with more than one third of respondents including this among their top ten criteria in selecting a place to live. TTC service assumes a surprising importance (fifth in overall ranking) and is cited as the most important consideration by almost one third of participants even though 70% of households living at Frankel/Lambert have access to

an automobile according to the City Housing Department survey. Similarly residents of Vancouver's False Creek neighbourhood ranked good public transportation as fifth in overall importance.(4) Among the top ten ranked factors only two refer to the dwelling unit itself-- space in the dwelling (ranked third) and soundproofing between units (ranked sixth).

When we examine which aspects of the neighbourhood environment were judged to be of least overall importance, four factors relate directly to site planning guidelines: guest parking, shared outdoor space associated with each building, communal space for each building, and a place for teenagers to gather. Access to downtown and work are not ranked as very important (Table 4-B).

Table 4-B

Relative Importance of Design Guideline to Frankel/Lambert Residents

10 Most Important Design Criteria in Order of Importance	% F/L Residents Ranking Criteria From 1 - 10	% F/L Residents Ranking Criteria as Most Important	% F/L Residents Ranking Criteria From 1 - 3
1. Housing Costs	78.1%	25.0	59.4%
2. Safe Neighbourhoods	71.9	15.6	37.5
3. Space in the Dwelling	62.5	9.4	25.0
4. Personal Outdoor Living Space Attached to Your Unit	37.5	0.0	6.3
5. TTC Service	53.3	31.3	31.3
6. Soundproofing between Units	59.4	0.0	15.6
7. Access to Shopping	43.8	0.0	0.0
8. Protection from Outside Noises	43.8	0.0	9.4
9. Traffic Safety	31.3	9.4	9.4
10. Neighbourliness	31.3	0.0	3.1

4.2 Comparison of Residents and Experts' Opinions

Previous post-occupancy evaluations of residential environments have often noted that architects and planners value different aspects of the environment than do the eventual residents.(5) At Frankel/Lambert, planners and architects from several levels of government were involved in the initial planning and design phases of the development and considerable thought was given to the site planning guidelines and their appropriateness to the site. We asked eight architects and planners involved in this planning and design process to rank the same set of variables, using the same instrument, as we had presented to residents, and to try to recall the priority of these factors in their own decisionmaking on the site.(6)

Table 4-C compares the ten neighbourhood characteristics deemed most important by both residents and architects/planners. Housing costs top both lists. On that one variable, and only one, both residents and professionals are in total agreement. Although the relative rankings vary somewhat, six of the ten variables appear on both lists: cost, space in the dwelling, personal outdoor living space, soundproofing, protection from outside noise, and neighbourliness.

The professionals' list does not include four items listed among the residents' ten most important factors: safe neighbourhood, TTC service, access to shopping and traffic safety.

Planning documents referred to the adequacy of existing public transit service in the neighbourhood. Overall, two thirds of residents are satisfied with TTC service, according to the City of Toronto Housing Department survey, yet residents are also sensitive to problems of bus scheduling and waiting time. It is clear that in choosing a neighbourhood, these moderate income residents place a high priority on available public transit.

The City survey shows that 72% of residents are satisfied with local convenience shopping located on nearby arterial roads. Yet participants in the small group meetings also criticized the single use residential zoning within Frankel/Lambert and the absence of any convenience stores on the site. This was a departure from the provision of commercial and service space at the ground level of residential buildings in the St. Lawrence neighbourhood.

Traffic issues received a great deal of attention during the planning of the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood. From our ranking exercise, we see that traffic safety continues to be a major concern of the new residents of Frankel/Lambert.

The priority list of the planners and architects, contains seven items which do not appear on the residents' list. Some of these reflect their professional responsibilities for developing the site. To some extent, they also tend to reflect the planning philosophy and political agenda of the day. The emphasis on homeownership and personal parking reflect the priority placed by the city on developing a traditional Toronto neighbourhood with "homelike" qualities. Planners were concerned with the overall density of the site since they had to achieve sufficient density to cover the costs of acquisition and construction. As they were required to meet the standards of three levels of government and to concern themselves with achieving a public good, the outdoor space in the whole neighbourhood and children's play space associated with each building were considered priorities. Lastly, planners felt that residents' access to school and workplace were priorities in the development of the site.

4.3 Residents' Satisfaction with Living at Frankel/Lambert

Residents were able to differentiate between the basic attributes sought in any neighbourhood and their satisfaction with this particular neighbourhood. After ranking the environmental factors, participants in the group meetings were asked to evaluate each of these factors as they applied to their current residential environment. Each variable was evaluated on a five-point scale subsequently collapsed to a three-point scale for the purpose of analysis.

Aspects of the Dwelling Unit

Least favourably evaluated by residents were aspects of the dwelling unit itself-soundproofing, protection from outside noise, space in the dwelling, and storage (Table 4-D). More than a third of the respondents felt that space in their own dwelling was poor or below average; almost half of them reported that storage was poor or below average. Lack of auditory privacy and problems with noise from outside were cited most often as being poor or below average at Frankel/Lambert. In our small group sessions, 44% of participants felt that soundproofing between dwellings was poor or below average. Similarly, 22% of the respondents to the housing department survey reported being bothered by noise from adjacent apartments or halls .

The importance of auditory privacy to residents in subsidized housing has long been established. A comprehensive study of residential satisfaction in U.S. public housing found that density per se was not so much related to satisfaction as design solutions which adequately dealt with sound transmission and visual privacy.(7) Clare Cooper's classic study of design standards in medium density public housing found that noise levels are among the most important predictors of satisfaction. Privacy between residents' home and the adjoining units was

Table 4-C

FRANKEL/LAMBERT RESIDENTS' AND ARCHITECT/PLANNERS' "TOP 10" ASPECTS OF RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT

RESIDENTS	ARCHITECTS/PLANNERS
1. Housing Costs	1. Housing Costs
2. Safe Neighbourhood	2. Personal Outdoor Living Space Attached to Your Unit
3. Space in the Dwelling	3. Personal Parking
4. Personal Outdoor Living Space Attached to Your Unit	4. Childrens Playspace Associated with your Building
5. TTC Service	5. Access to School*
	5. Protection from Outside Noises*
6. Soundproofing Between Units	6. Neigbourliness
7. Access to Shopping	7. Space in the Dwelling
8. Protection from Outside Noise	8. Access to Workplace*
	8. Homeownership*
9. Traffic Safety	9. Different Lifestyles*
	9. Number of People in the Neighbourhood*
	9. Soundproofing Between Units*
10. Neighbours	10. Outdoor Space in the Whole Neighbourhood

* Like numbers indicate equal scoring

Source: Simon/Wekerle Tradeoff Game

Table 4-D

Evaluation of Residential Environment at Frankel/Lambert - Aspects of Dwelling Unit

Evaluation	Soundproofing	Protection from Outside Noise	Space in Dwelling	Storage
Poor/ Below Average	44% (14)	47% (15)	34% (11)	47% (15)
Average	19 (6)	16 (5)	31 (10)	28 (9)
Good/ Excellent	34 (11)	22 (7)	28 (9)	9 (3)
NA	3 (1)	6 (2)	16 (5)	16 (5)
	100% (32)	99% (32)	100% (32)	101% (32)

Source: Simon/Wekerle Trade-Off Game.

considered much more important than privacy within the home.(8) In low cost row housing, inadequate party wall construction may result in residents hearing unwanted noise from neighbours, and there is an undesirable intrusion of people's private lives.(9) Even greater stress is created when there are small children, family problems, or economic difficulties. Residents from different buildings participating in the group meetings frequently mentioned the embarrassment caused by lack of soundproofing between units.

Although a noise impact study was required by CMHC, and recommendations were that units facing the railroad tracks should incorporate more expensive soundproofing materials, there is no indication that this was carried out.

Housing Costs

The cost of housing was the most frequently cited reason for moving to Frankel/Lambert (Table 4-E). While few residents thought they were getting a bargain since they are paying low end of market rents in a part of the city where rents have traditionally been below average, more than half the participants in the group meetings felt that rents were average. But for more than a third, housing costs were too high and some cooperative residents reported looking for less expensive housing in older buildings. In addition, recent rent increases in excess of the provincial rent control guidelines in the two Cityhome buildings had been widely reported in the press and may have sensitized residents to housing costs in the neighbourhood.

Table 4-E

Reasons for moving to Frankel/Lambert

Rank order of reasons	No. of respondents mentioning	% of total number of respondents
1. Cost of housing	136	25%
2. Attractiveness of new apartment or townhouse	103	19
3. Proximity to place of work	97	18
4. Community involvement	49	9
5. To be close to relatives/ friends	33	6
6. Overall design of neighbourhood	32	6
7. Proximity to shopping	28	5
8. Proximity to educational facilities	6	1
	Total	89%
9. All other reasons		11%

Source: City of Toronto Housing Department Survey Frankel/Lambert, July 1983.

Private Open Space

One of the major program requirements for the developments on the site was that housing conform to a traditional house form. This was interpreted as being as close as possible to the single family house with a front yard, porch, door on the street and backyard. To what extent were these important to residents? Participants in the small group meetings ranked personal outdoor living space attached to each unit fourth in overall priority on a ranking scale (Table 4-F). Yet residents' evaluation of Frankel/Lambert is mixed: almost a third feel that their own personal outdoor living space is poor or below average; another third feel it is average; and about a fifth evaluate it as either good or excellent.

Table 4-F

Evaluation of Residential Environment at Frankel/Lambert - Private Open Space

Evaluation	Personal outdoor living space-own unit	Personal Parking
Poor/Below Average	28.7% (9)	22% (7)
Average	31 (10)	25 (8)
Good/Excellent	22 (7)	25 (8)
NA	19 (6)	28 (9)
	100% 32	100% 32

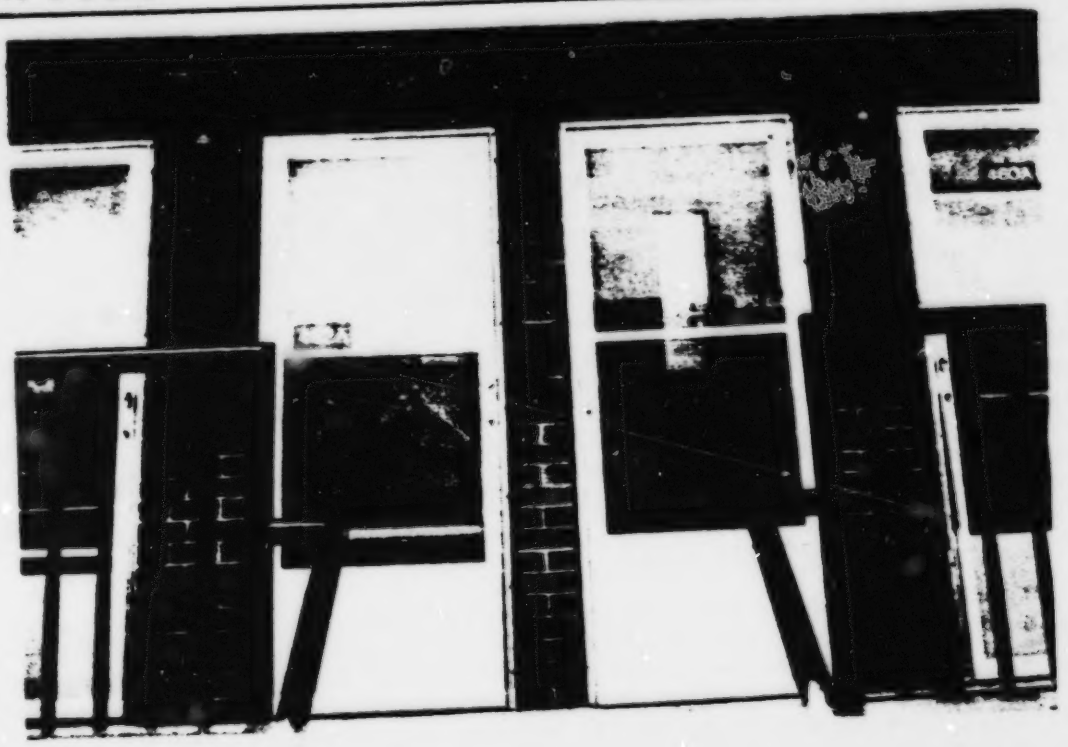
Source: Simon/Wekerle Trade-Off Game.

Figures 4-A - 4-F summarize the observed activities in open spaces in the summer. The pattern of use shows that ground level private open spaces facing communal landscaped courtyards were used far more extensively than those which abut parking areas or the public street. Use of these spaces peaks in the early evening hours.

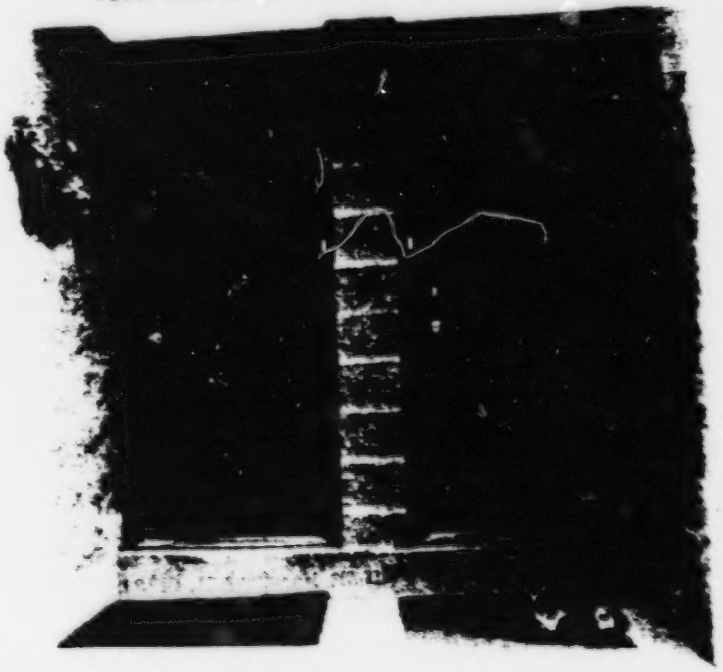
The private open space areas at Constance Hamilton and Lotus had the highest recorded use. In both instances there was continual movement between the private and communal spaces, particularly by children. It was not possible to systematically record the activities in Arauco's private and communal open spaces but the resident manager reports that the rear patios were well used. Furniture and the quality of the landscape maintenance provided environmental clues to substantiate this statement. On the other hand, some Arauco residents said they did not like their patio space because there was no privacy. The South American tradition they came from is one of walled gardens which provide a very high degree of visual and auditory privacy as well as security.

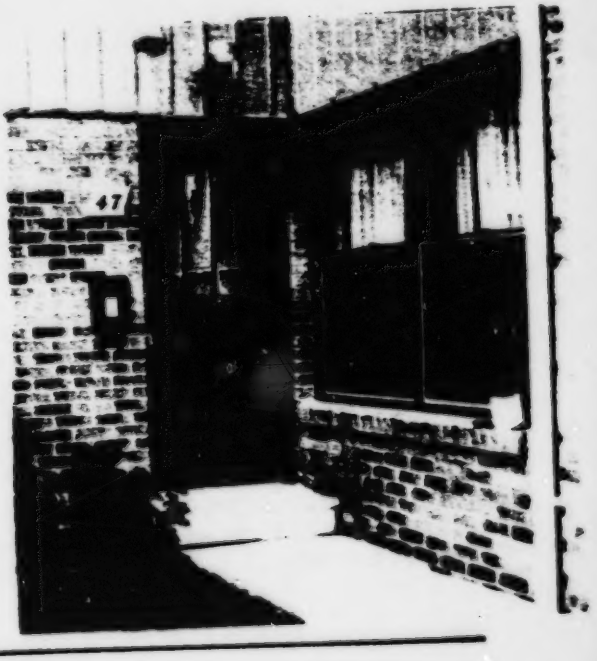
Because the West York private open space is at second floor level, it was impossible to systematically observe. Recorded activities took place in the ground level parking area. However, the upper decks provide clear visual evidence of a wide range of uses.

Front Doors



The traditional front door provides a private entrarce. The stacked townhouse form and a narrow frontage meant privacy was "traded off".





Front Door

One of the most important design criteria at Frankel/Lambert which set parameters on the kinds of housing designs evaluated as acceptable, was the assumption that as many units as possible would be street-oriented with a front door on street level. Previous behavioural research had established that for most people in multifamily housing, the ideal form of access is a private entry at grade, leading through a semiprivate transition space (yard, porch, patio, etc.) from an open space or street well-used by pedestrians.(10) In the small group meetings, respondents indicated their strong approval of separate units having a front door facing the street. Seventy-five percent of participants supported this solution with comments such as "provides privacy" and "access for the disabled". However, reservations were shown in the following comments: "It provides privacy and convenience but at too high a cost", "Nice, but I'd be willing to trade it off".

In traditional Toronto houses, front porches serve several functions: as protection from the rain and snow, as a place to sit out, a space to personalize, and as a possible play setting for small children under parental supervision. The porches at Frankel/Lambert are very small or non-existent. Protection from the elements is limited as porches are small and the overhang negligible. There is seldom room for a chair for sitting out. Porches are used for barbecuing, plants, and watching the world go by. Due to the reduced dimensions of private entryways, residents, their children, and visitors are frequently reduced to sitting on the stoop--an activity traditionally associated with working class districts, tenements, or very high density neighbourhoods.

Front Yard

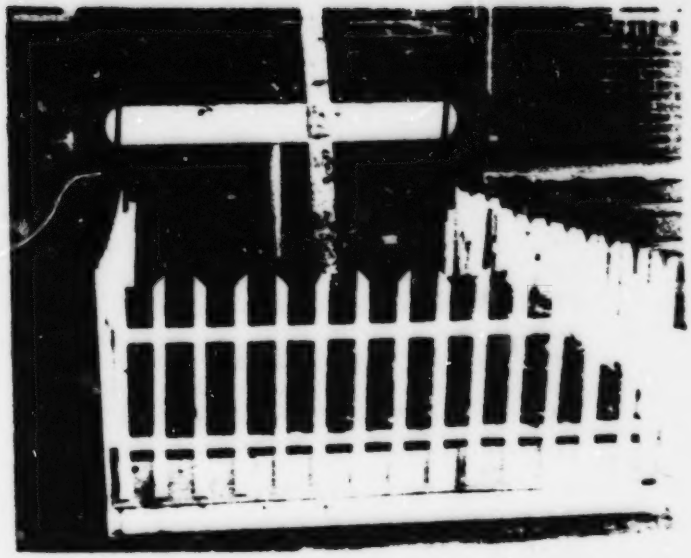
Front yards serve as a buffer between the street and the house, preventing visual or aural intrusions.

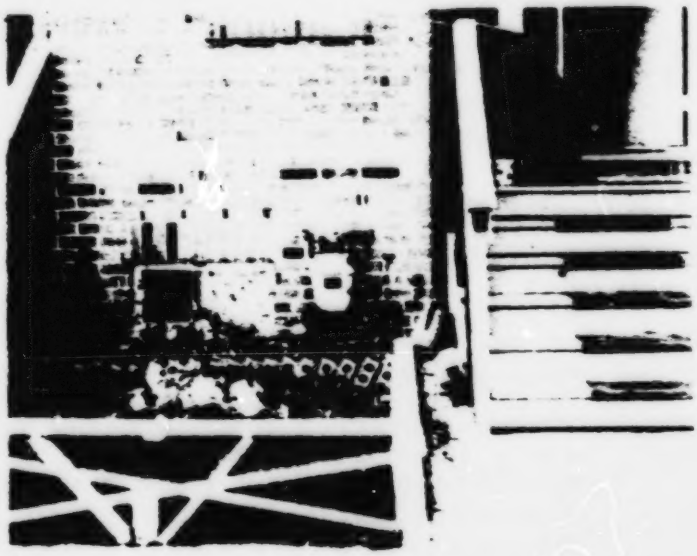
At Frankel/Lambert, front yards have a maximum setback of five feet from the street and can include steps, or front porches. Dimensions of front yards are typically quite small. For example, 10'x12.8' (128 sq. ft) and 5'x9' (45 sq. ft) are allocated for front yard space for two private market townhouses. A typical dimension for a front yard in one of the cooperatives is 8.5'x13.5' (144.75 sq. ft). This seems to be of concern to residents as evidenced by their response to the statement "The houses should be further away from the street" in the City Housing Department survey: 55% agreed that setbacks should be greater; 21% disagreed. Similarly, 44% of respondents felt that "streets should be wider".

FRONTYARDS

The traditional street provides a subtle transition from public sidewalk to semi-public front yard to semi-private porch to private dwelling. Maintenance of the front yard helps to establish community norms and provides a reason to be outside Miniaturization creates new spatial patterns and behavioral responses.

existing neighbourhood





Many front yards are not separated from the neighbours by fencing. They blend into the sidewalk and are encroached on as evidenced by the worn grass and landscaping. Some residents have dealt with this by erecting miniscule fences around their patch of front lawn; others do not even consider this area private open space as evidenced by the many front lawns overgrown with tall weeds and serving merely to store garbage. When asked what they do in their private open space, none of the participants ever mentioned the front yard; they referred exclusively to activities in backyards.

The observations recorded virtually no use of front porch or entry space for sitting out activities. Because the figures show an average hourly use pattern, only two maintenance activities are recorded. By shrinking the size of the outdoor spaces to a minimum, the planners also reduced the opportunities for maintenance, thereby removing a reason to be out in front. On Hector and Rains, front porches are used. This may be due in part because the backyards are given over to extensive vegetable gardens and grape arbors.

Besides serving as a buffer between private and public open space and defining territory, the front yard serves an important status function. Cooper (11) notes that "keeping up the front lawn, regarded as important in preserving the property values, also is important in creating and maintaining status in the eyes of one's neighbours, and in putting one's mark on an environment which is otherwise monotonous and stereotyped".

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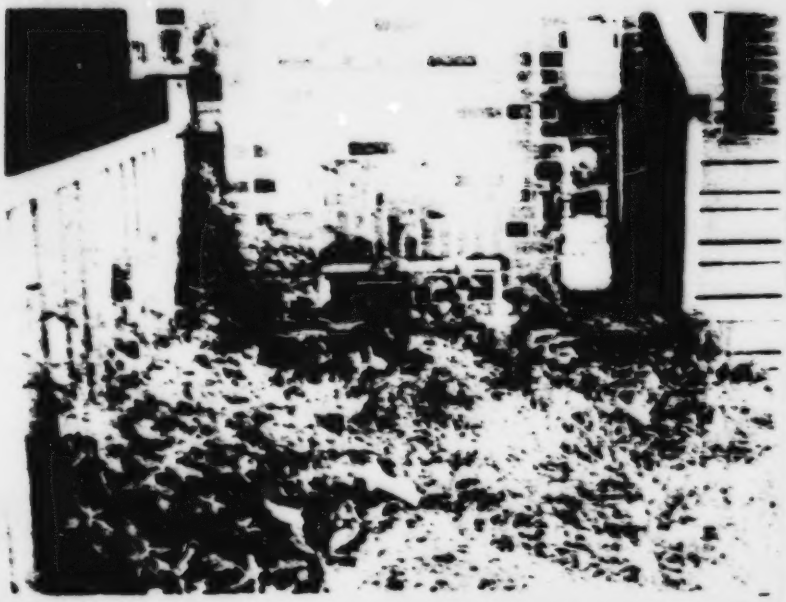
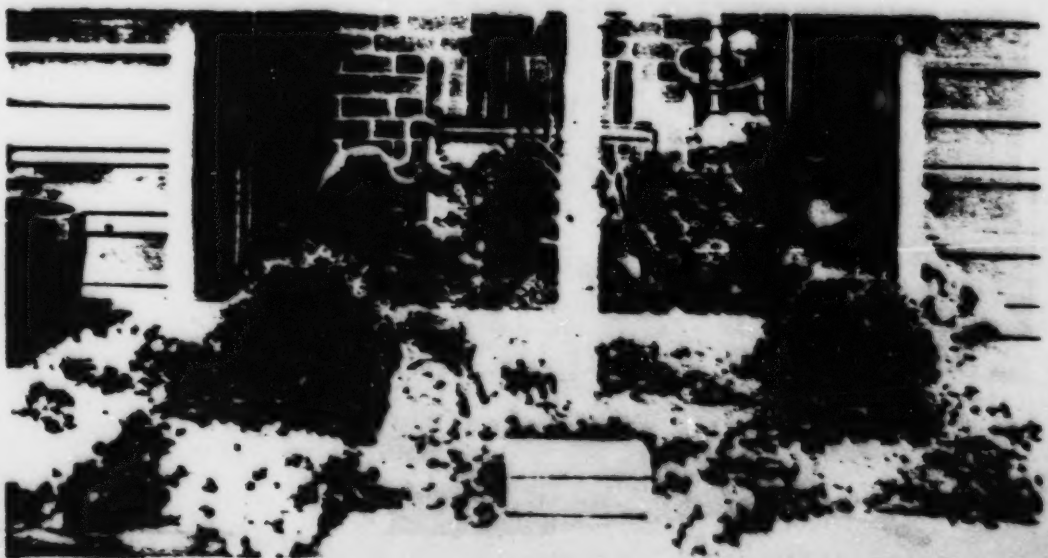
At Frankel/Lambert, the upkeep or lack of upkeep of the front lawn becomes a source of conflict between different groups of residents. Many of the negative comments made by one group about another during the group meetings revolved around the lack of upkeep of the front lawns. Homeowners in particular were critical of the lack of upkeep of the lawns of other groups. They complained that non-owners do not maintain the property and depress property values.

For some homeowners, the lack of upkeep of the front lawns was an indicator that the neighborhood was going downhill. This may also be indicative of the differences between individual and

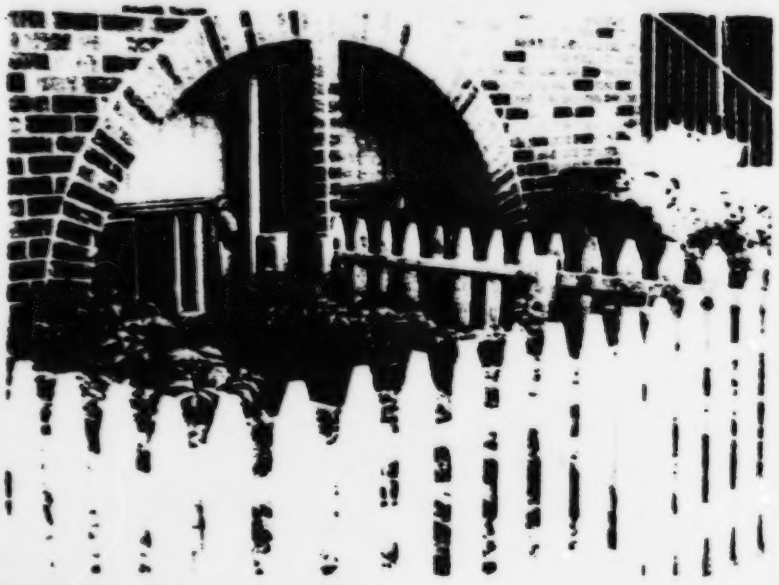
Front yards

Front Yards serve a status function and gardening provides an opportunity to meet your neighbours.

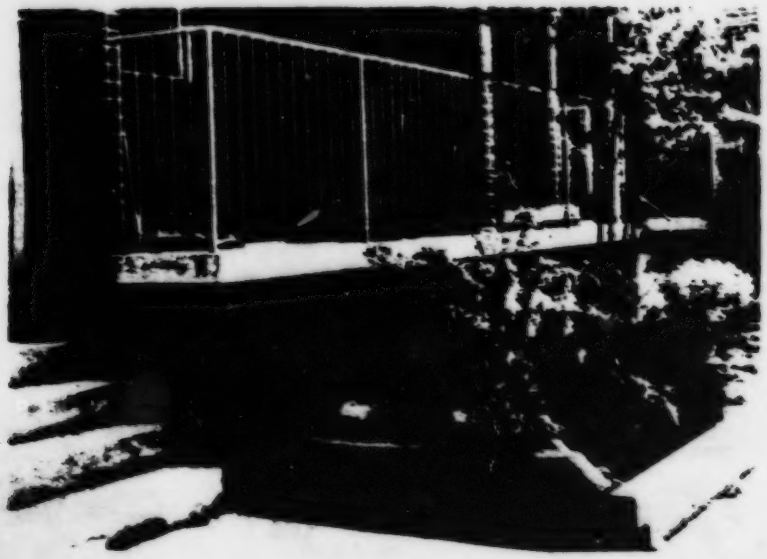




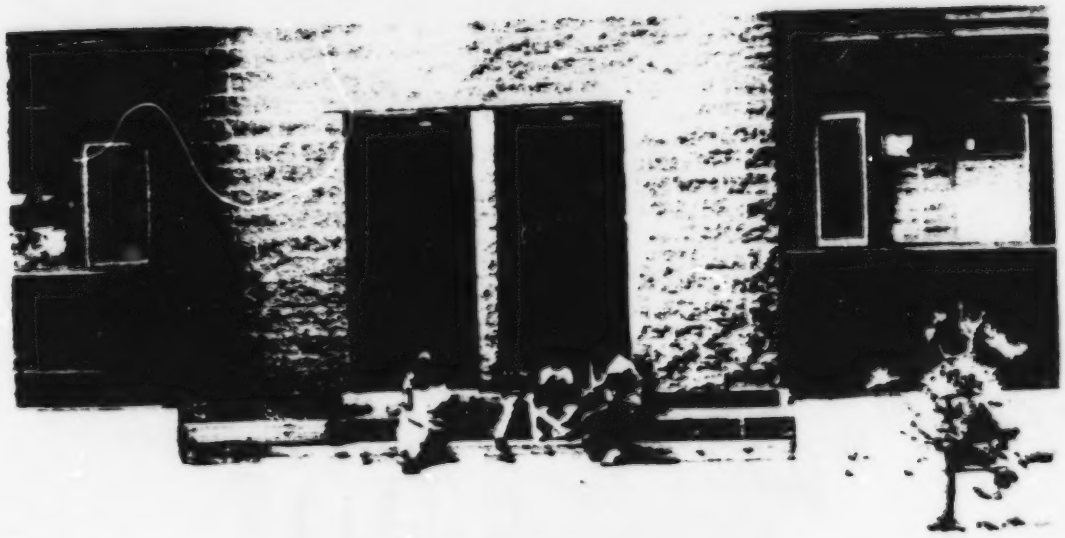
Front yards



Tiny front yards elicit a variety of responses from elaborate individualization, to pave it and forget it. Raised planter beds with shrubs eliminated the gardening problems.

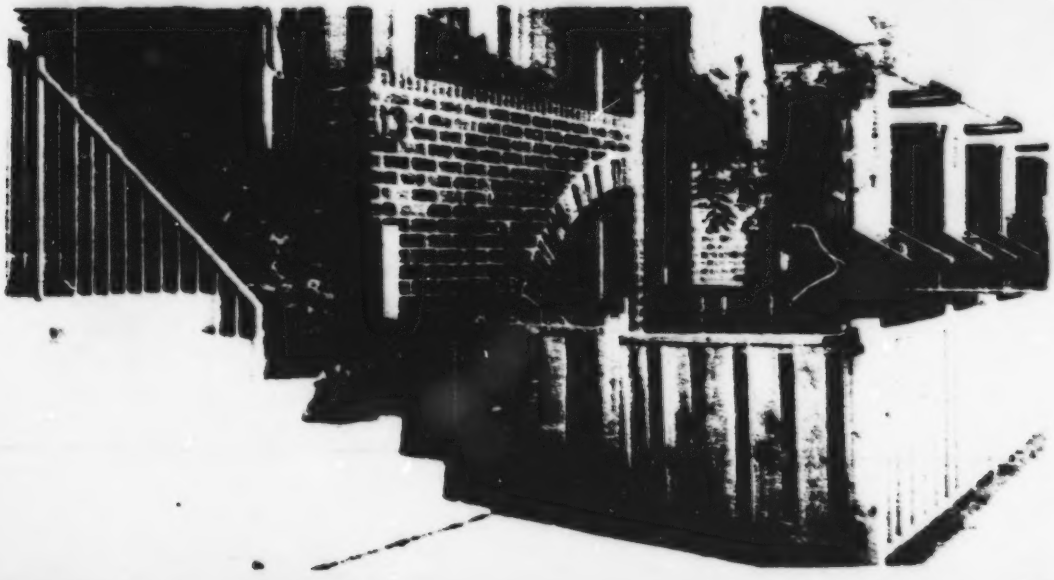


The traditional front porch provided space for a range of activities including childrens' threshold play. These children only have a stoop to sit on.

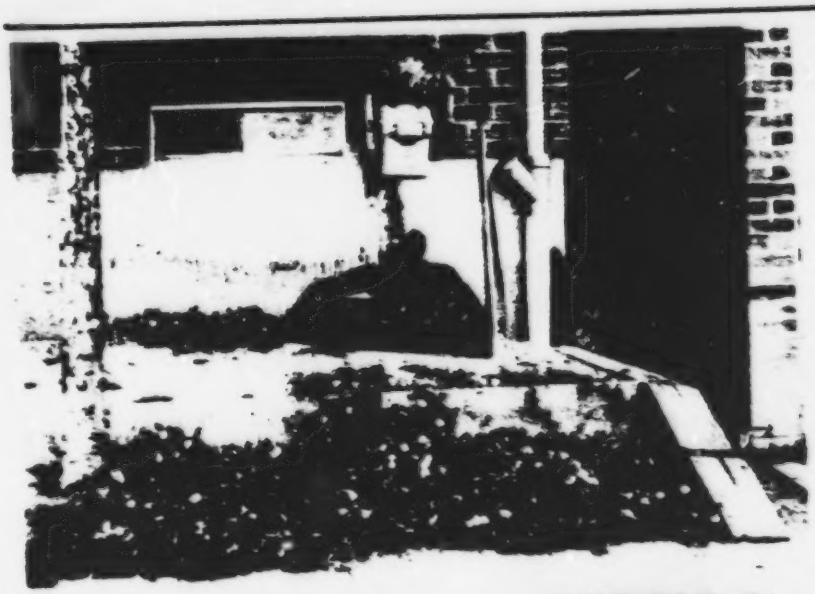


Porch Entrances

The transition space has been miniaturized.



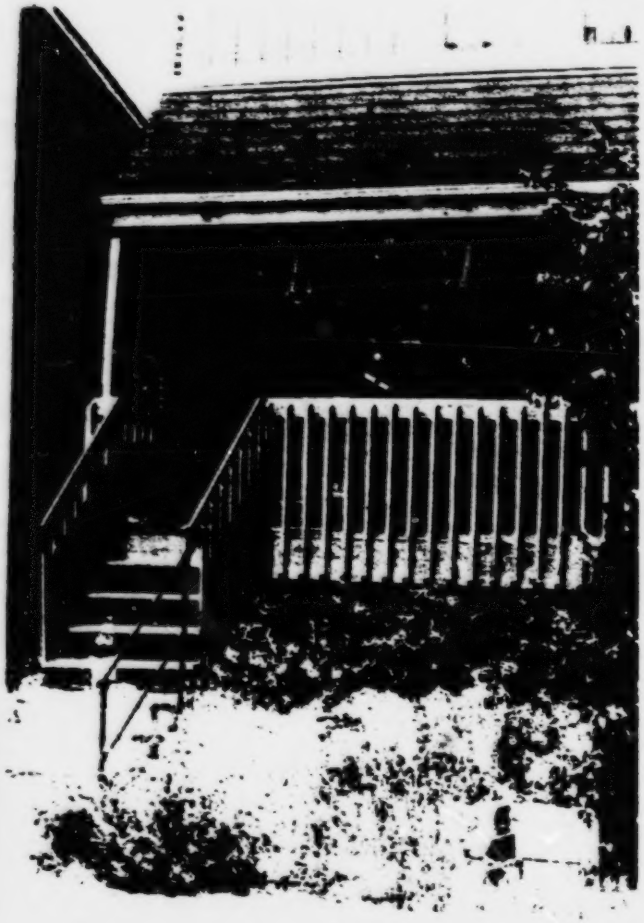
Front yards

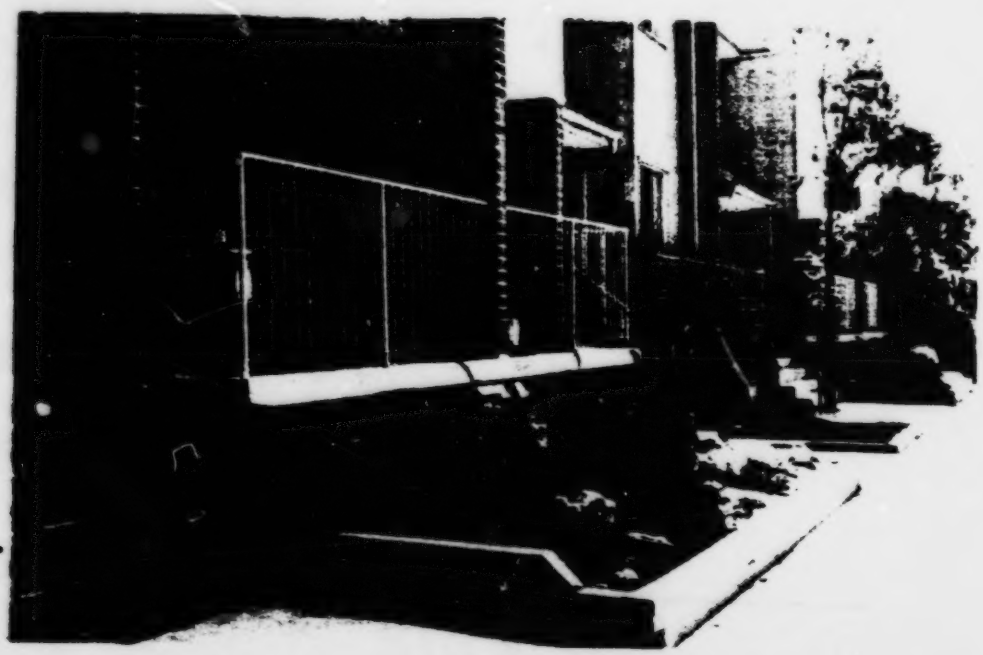


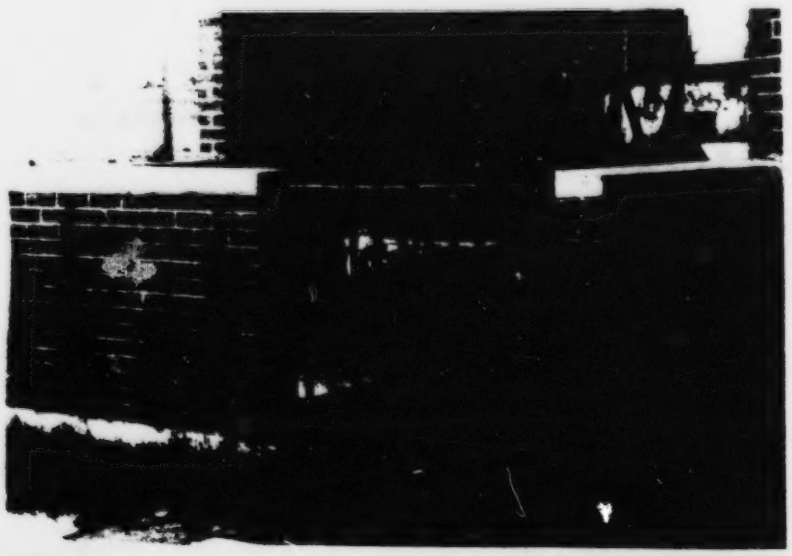
Above: Some residents evidently find the tiny front yards not worth the effort to maintain
Opposite: These front yards provide a poor transition from the public sidewalk to the private home

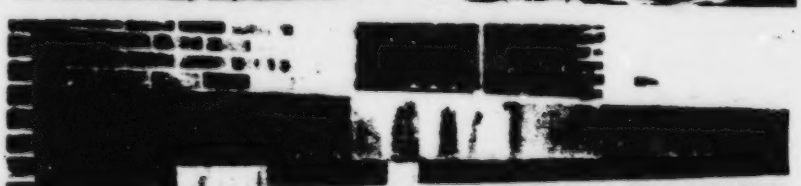
Front yards

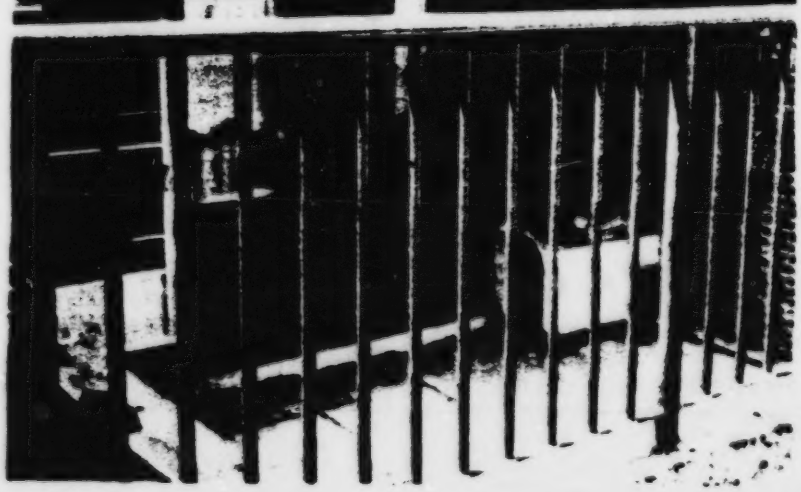
Standards of maintenance are causing antagonism between neighbours.











Private Open Space

The quality of the private open spaces varies tremendously.

Top: This small patio adjacent to the public sidewalk differs in many fundamental respects from the tradional back yard

Middle: A variety of functions are squeezed into tiny spaces

Bottom: This private open space is several feet below grade, paved and virtually sunless. Perhaps that is why the resident dog is so bad tempered.

group maintenance of property and the lack of development of community standards of upkeep. The small scale of the front lawns may deter residents from doing much in the way of upkeep. It is difficult to invest time and energy in a miniscule front yard; it is difficult to justify the outlay of money for a hose, lawnmower, and fertilizer for a 5x9 square of sod with no landscaping. Yet for some residents, the attractiveness of the development as a whole is judged in terms of upkeep of private open space.

Back Yard

Backyards are associated with the traditional house form in Toronto and planners at Frankel/Lambert went to considerable lengths to ensure that ground level units had some backyard space. Several different solutions were tried. In the cooperatives, such as Constance Hamilton and Arauco, ground level units have small patios minimally separated by landscaping from the communal courtyard. In the Cityhome projects, this is also the case. In the Victoria Wood townhouses, the size of backyards varies with some of them extremely small decks with cars parking partially under the deck. A more typical case is a small patio about 13'x10'(130 sq.ft) with parking immediately behind it. By way of contrast with Cooper's study public housing residents living in medium density housing found that backyards of 360 sq. ft. were too small to accommodate family activities.(12)

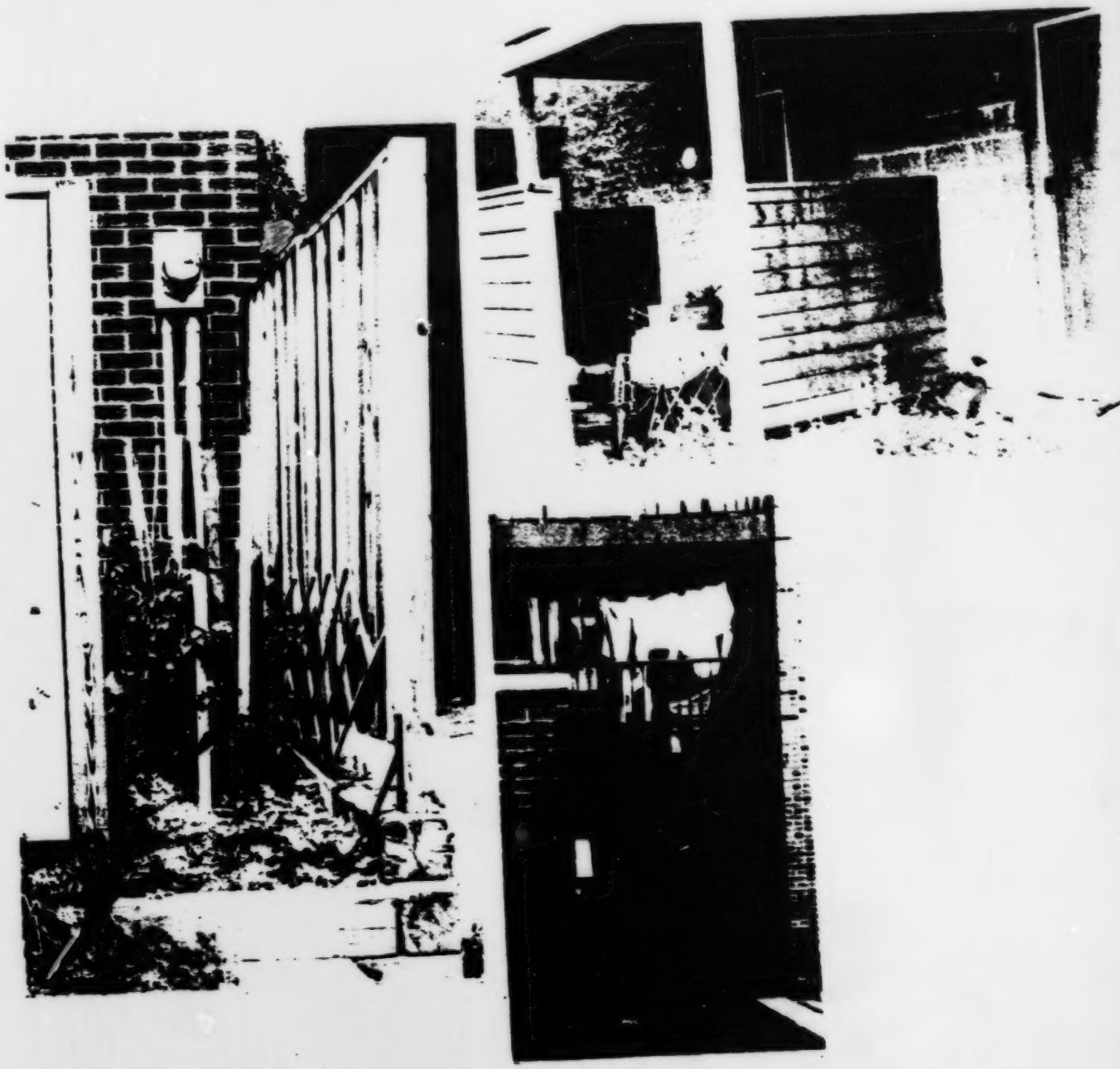
The solution to the open space problem provided in the townhouses built by West York consists of a second storey raised deck topping a car park and is least like the traditional house form. Storage for bulk items such as bicycles, boats, and small storage bins is provided under the deck. The deck itself measures 15.6'x9' and is larger than some ground level backyards. These above-ground decks provide the space and the opportunity for residents to engage in many of the activities traditionally associated with ground level backyards: clothes drying, children's play, sitting out, growing plants, eating out, space for repair jobs and storage, entertaining, and pets.

In their desire to provide residents with a home-like environment, the ground level backyard, be it ever so small, was preferred by the site planners over other solutions like these decks or large balconies.

In the small group meetings, participants were asked how they used their private open space. Half used the space for socializing or relaxing; less than a third gardened; somewhat less than a fifth used it for eating out. Others mentioned that backyards served as storage space or a place to keep their pet. Some people complained that they had no outdoor space at all.

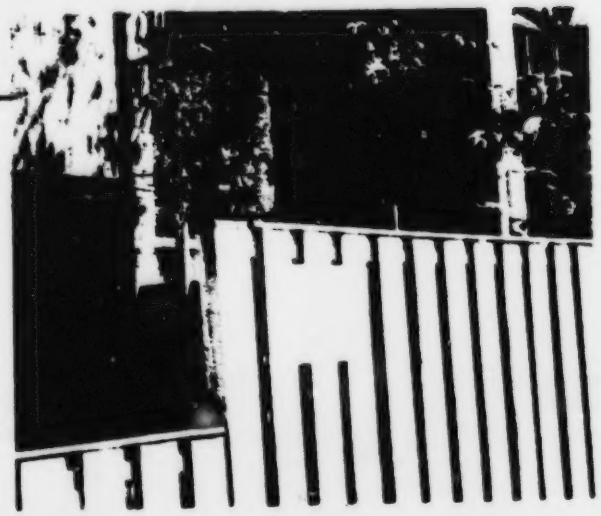
From observations at the site, we noted that the private outdoor open spaces provided only limited opportunities for

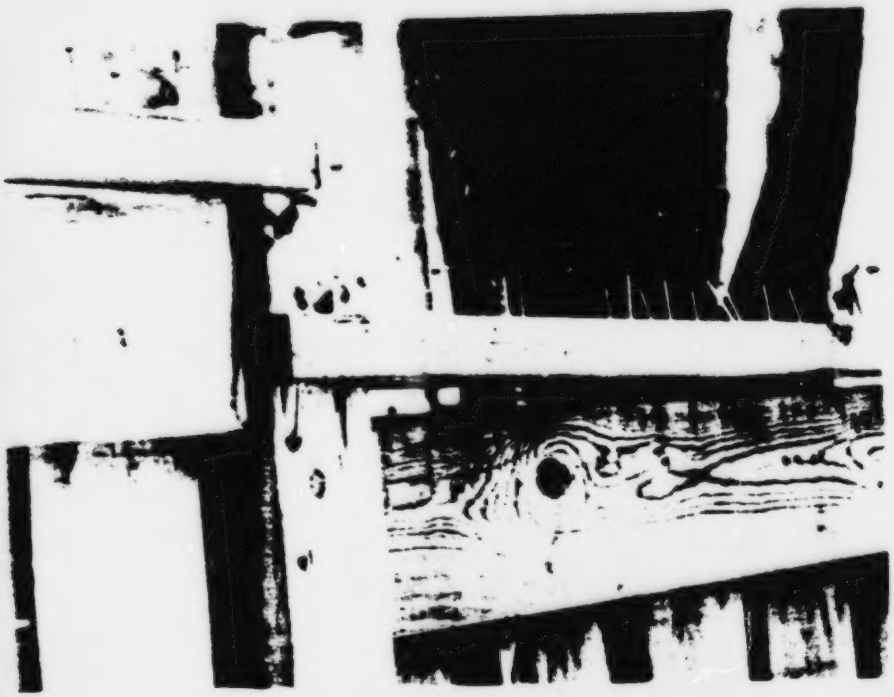
Private Open Space



Not enough room for desired activities.

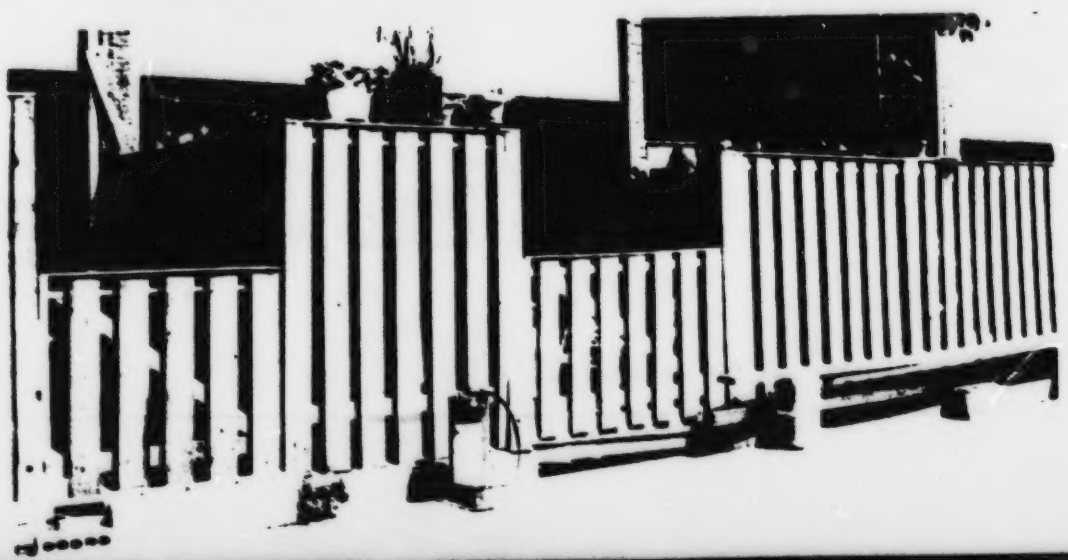
Privacy





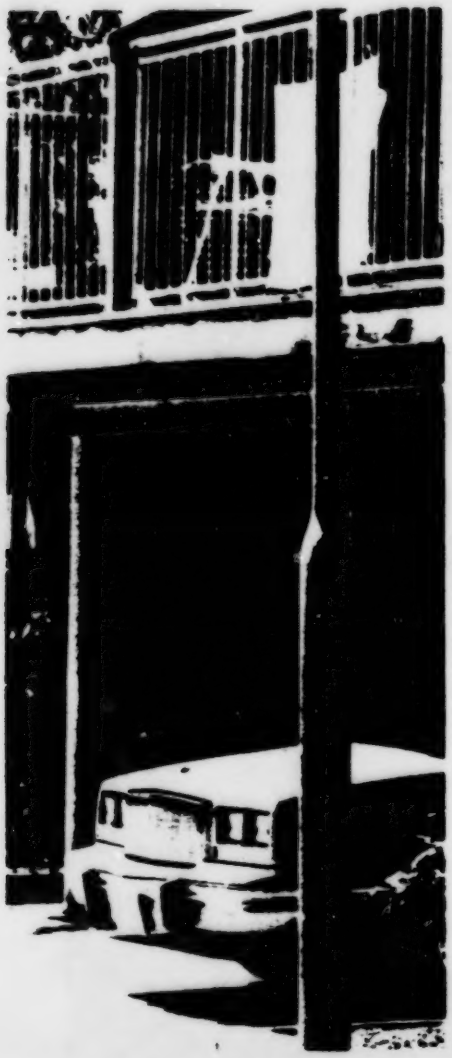
Top: sign
Middle: nails
Bottom: dog

Various strategies to protect privacy.



Parking on the street may mean more direct access to your front door than parking in assigned space at the rear.

parking



clearly defined ownership

territoral problems

residents to engage in those activities commonly associated with backyard space. First, the space is just too small to accommodate a picnic table and chairs so that the whole family or a family and guests can sit out and socialize; the spaces are too small to accommodate a swing set; they are too small to string a line to hang out washing. Many of the backyards are in shadow most of the day.

Private outdoor spaces adjoining courtyards have a minimal division between the private space and the communal space. Residents find it difficult to control their space and are subjected to unwanted visual and auditory contact. There is little privacy between one unit and the unit next door. In these cases, the activities requiring the greatest privacy - eating, sunbathing, napping - are not readily accommodated.

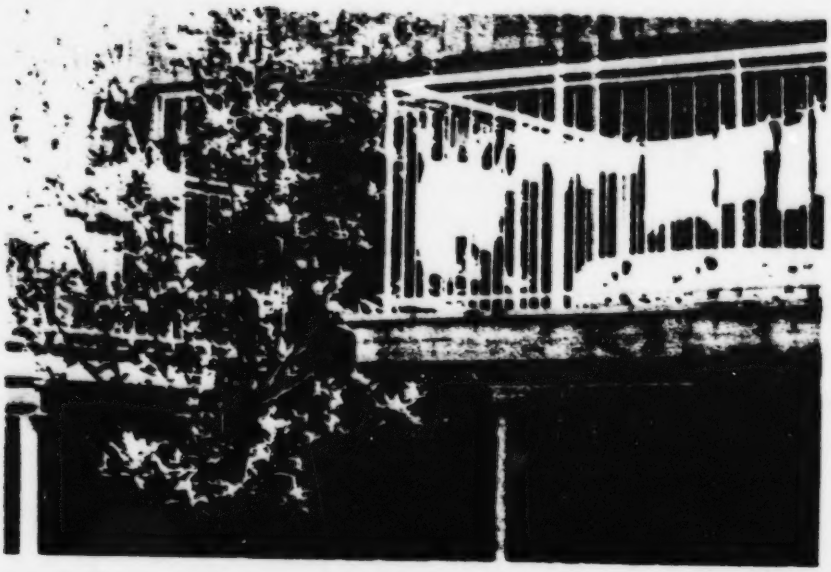
In the ownership townhouses, high wooden fences surround very tiny backyard patches. But this attempt to create greater privacy and control results in claustrophobic small spaces overwhelmed by high walls. Use of hedges or natural materials and a shorter fence might have created a greater sense of space and continuity while still ensuring individual privacy. Both treatments clearly violate a basic principle of design for private open space in medium density housing--that there be a clear separation between private and communal space.(13)

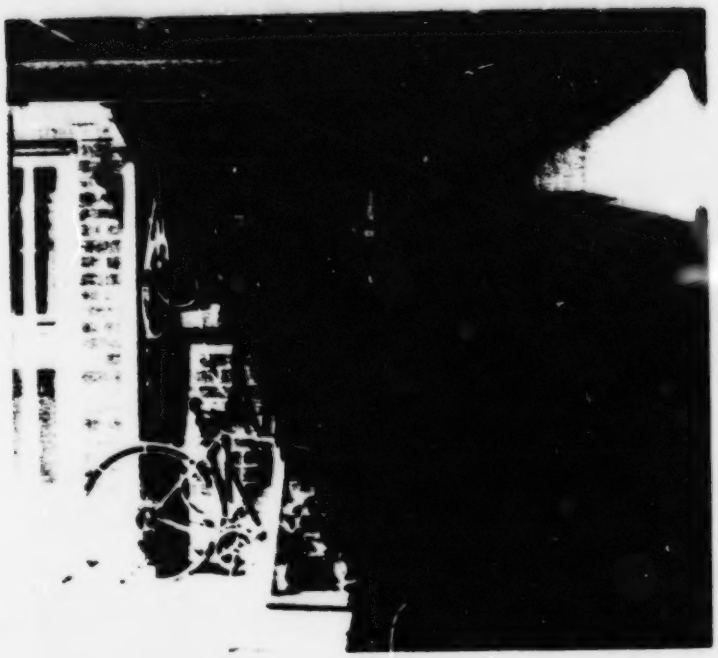
Parking

During the planning process at Frankel/Lambert, planners made several assumptions about parking which have not been borne out in practice. With respect to parking requirements, they treated Frankel/Lambert like an inner city neighbourhood and assumed that car ownership would be lower than normal since the area is well served by public transit. Assumptions were made about the relationship between tenure and automobile ownership. Only the homeownership units were allocated one parking spot per unit. It was assumed that residents in the nonprofit cooperatives and Cityhome projects would require only one half to one third the number of parking spaces as the ownership units. Perhaps this was based on the premise that these residents would have lower incomes and could not afford a car. The parking exemptions granted Frankel/Lambert in the Final Rezoning Report resulted in a parking deficiency on different parcels of between 52% and 23%. On all parcels, the overall deficiency in parking amounted to 161 fewer parking spaces than would generally have been required under CMHC's site planning guidelines.(14)

In reality, 76% of households at Frankel/Lambert own an automobile.(15) This is in contrast to half the residents in the core area St. Lawrence Neighbourhood who own an automobile.(16) Despite the initial goal of keeping cars off the street, permit parking has been introduced to deal with the lack of parking spaces. Had this not occurred the reductions in parking

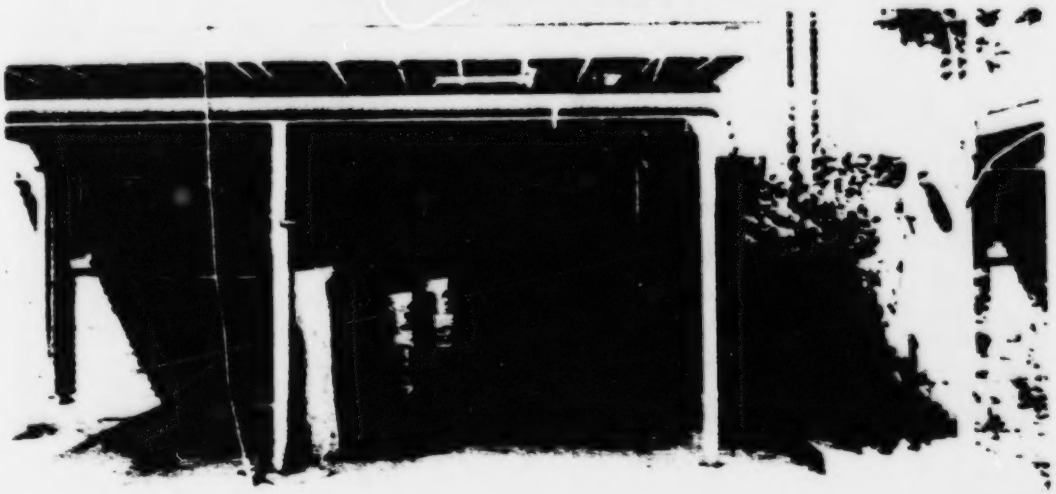
Laundry drying appears to have been an overlooked use of private open space.

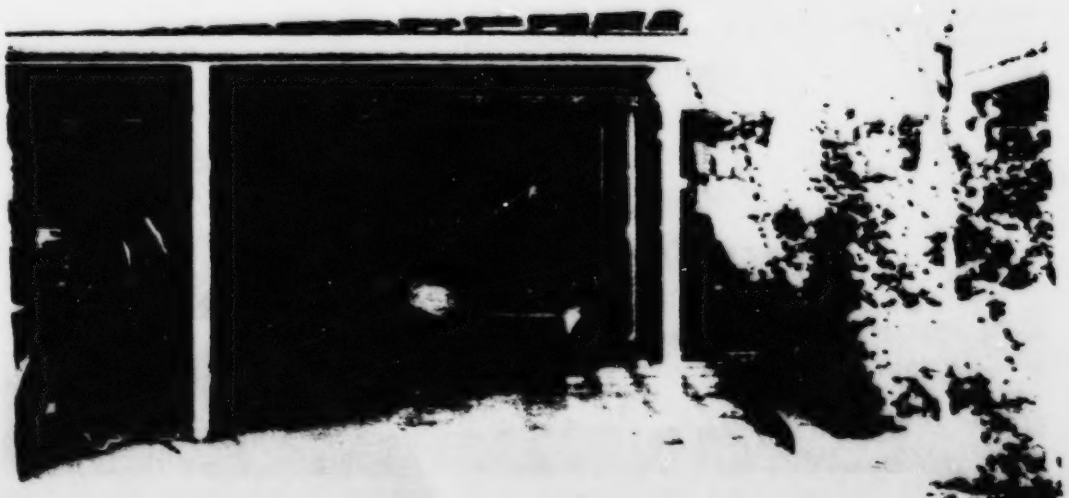


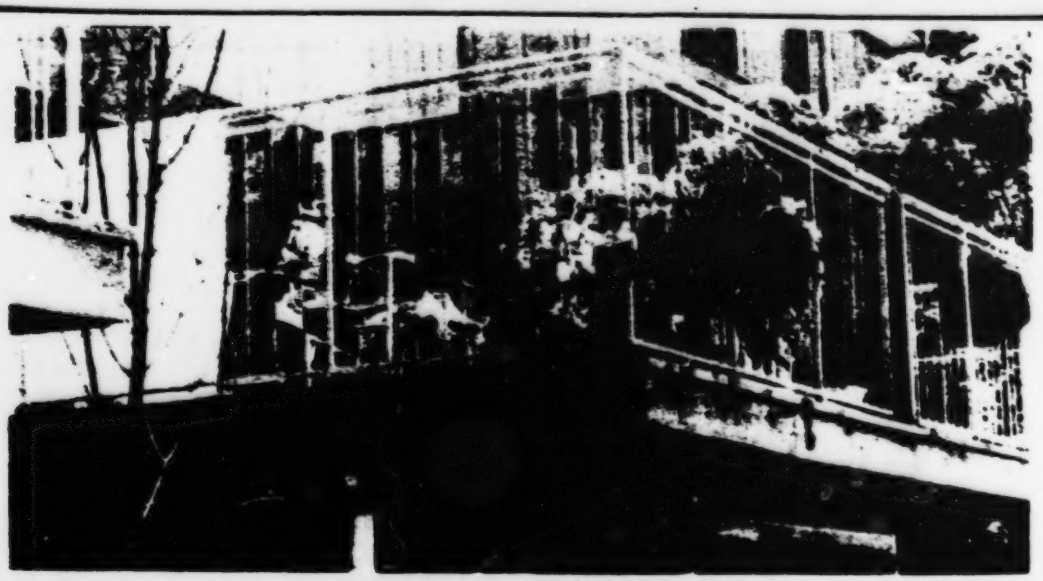


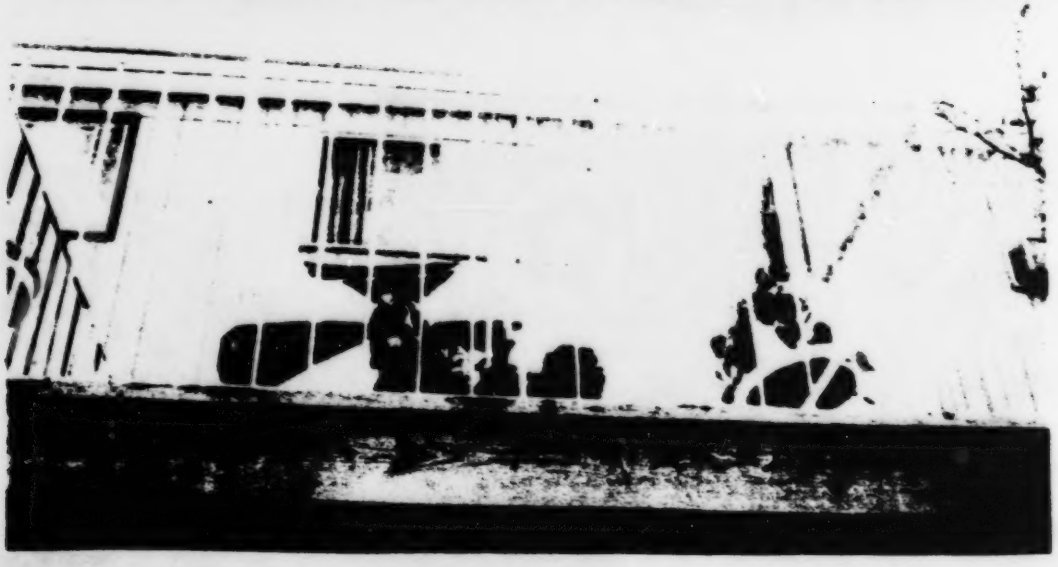
When the private parking is directly attached to the unit it provides a storage space for bulky items.

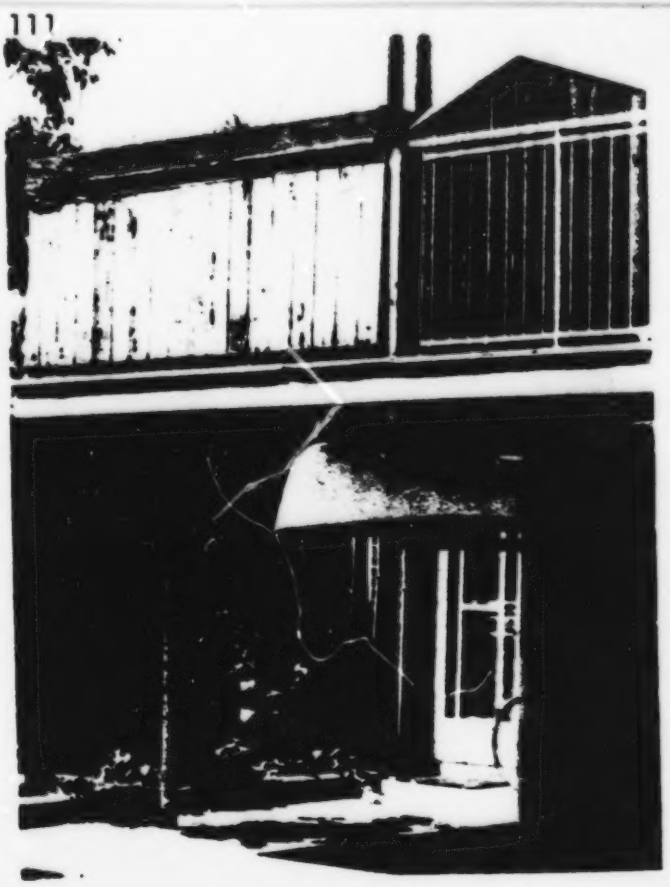
In many neighbourhoods, the car is left outside because the garage is full.











These large raised decks showed the greatest range of uses. Parking space allows for storage of bulky items as well as a car.

Surface Parking Solutions

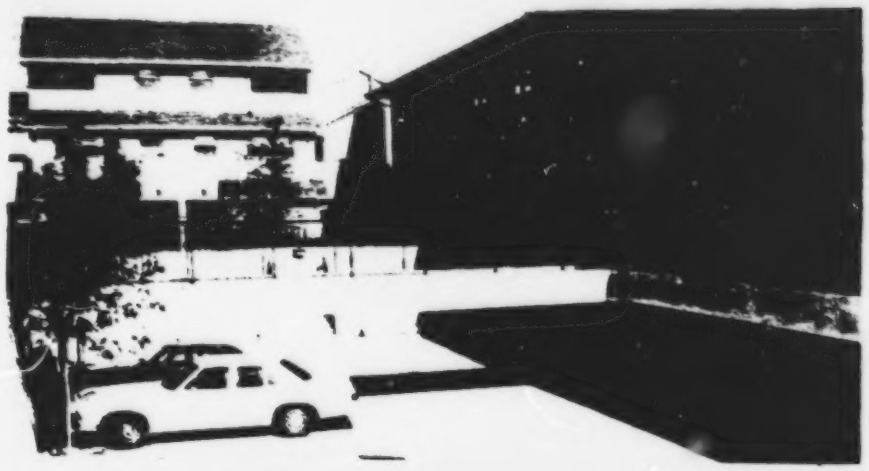
Parking dominates the private open space. Residents object to strangers using these spaces as public areas for short cuts and playing, the design contributes to this public/private confusion

This parking lot is an unattractive feature over looked by a number of balconies

Street parking for residents was not an option put forward in the planning documents. Street spaces make up for the shortage of off-street parking and in some cases it is more convenient and cheaper.

Under Deck Parking Solutions

Cars intrude into private open spaces to various degrees. In (3) the decks are designed so that the hood of the car is under the deck. In (1) & (2) private open space over looks extensive paving. (4) is a more positively designed parking area. Trees and decks covering the cars soften the view.



Poor access from parking into units contributes to dissatisfaction with parking. Space needs to be provided to "store" snow that has been removed from parking lots.

requirements would have resulted in serious parking problems on the site. As it is, the street now fills one of its traditional functions--to provide parking--even though planners did not view this as desirable. The City survey shows that overnight, 35% of car owners park on the street; 47% in the surface parking attached to the building; and a further 10% in the underground parking.

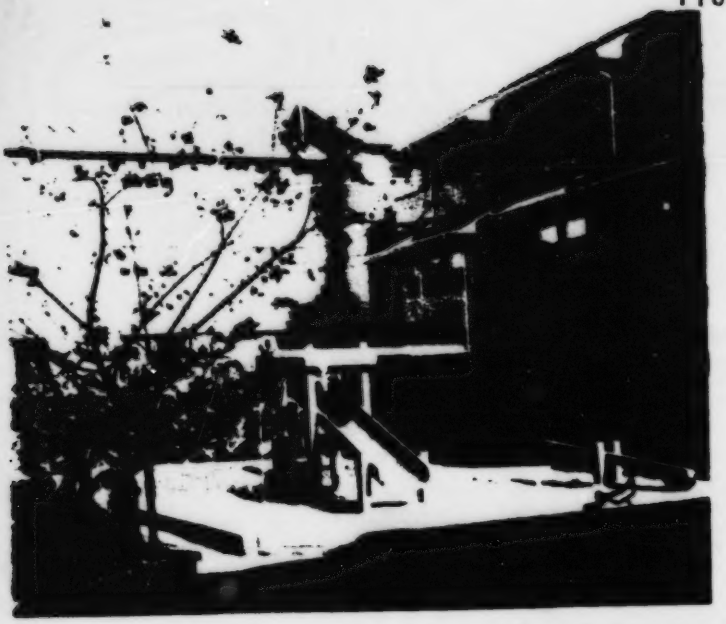
Personal parking, which ranked 17th in the ranking scale for participants in the small group meetings, received mixed reviews from residents. About 1/5 evaluated it as poor or below average, while one quarter stated that it is good to excellent (Table 4-F). However, the City Survey reveals a greater level of dissatisfaction with 2/3 of respondents dissatisfied with parking arrangements. Regardless of where they park, whether in private parking spaces on the surface lots attached to each building or on the street, 66% to 74% respectively are dissatisfied. Guest parking also receives poor marks with more than half of respondents reporting that they consider it poor or below average.

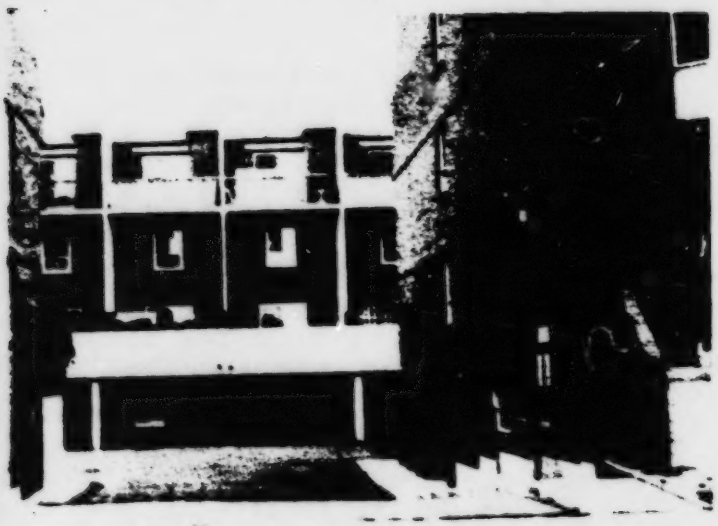
Yet observations of the streets and parking lots indicate that they are never at capacity and that parking spots are always available except in the vicinity of the senior citizens building when the construction workers were on site. Perhaps some residents are dissatisfied with parking because they are charged an extra fee, in some cases, $25 monthly and therefore choose the cheaper permit parking on the street which does not, however, guarantee a spot adjacent to the dwelling. Or residents may be dissatisfied since in many cases it is not possible to enter the unit directly from the parking space. In a number of locations, signs and chains provided evidence of keeping the assigned parking spaces for the exclusive use of the occupants.

What is remarkable about the high level of dissatisfaction with parking is the amount of time and effort expended in the planning process to deal with parking. Major decisions affecting the form of housing followed from the requirement to provide parking attached to each unit which could be accessed from a rear lane. This eliminated certain design solutions such as providing parking under each unit in the front; under deck parking, with the exception of the West York townhouses, was viewed as too unconventional; underground parking, with the exception of the Arauco cooperative, was seen as too expensive. The preferred solution, providing parking spaces at the rear attached to units, limited the range of design solutions considered and resulted in unnecessarily small outdoor open spaces.

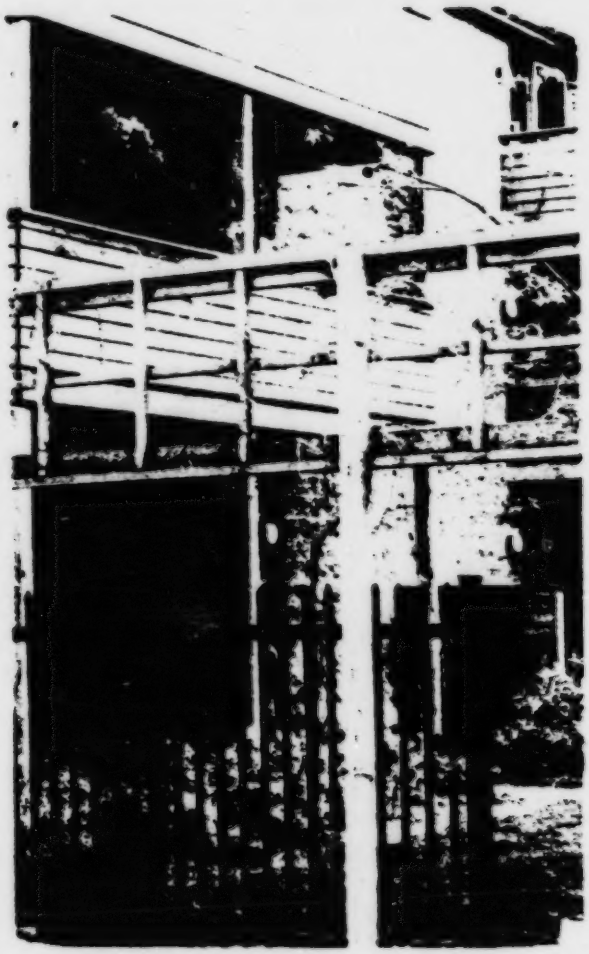
Communal Space

Each project within Frankel/Lambert has some element of communal space shared by all residents. Some like the Lotus and Arauco non-profit cooperatives have a small outdoor play space attached to their own building.





Communal Open Space



Communal space provides play space for children close to home. So do the parking lots. Only the West York area is positively designed.

Indoor communal space is minimal in all projects. These are often "stolen" spaces because they are not budgeted for within the Maximum Unit Prices (MUPS) set by CMHC under the 56.1 programme under which this housing was constructed. The Lotus cooperative has the largest indoor communal space with a large meeting room, a smaller conference room and an attached kitchen, in the basement of the building. Other groups often use this space for meetings. The Arauco coop has such a small meeting room that it serves as the office of the project coordinator. The smallest cooperative, Constance Hamilton, has no meeting room; the only indoor communal space is an enlarged laundromat at ground level overlooking the parkette.

In the conduct of this study, it often proved difficult to find a space for group meetings. This is a serious lack since the non-profit cooperative structure requires that residents cooperate in managing their buildings, there are many committees, and meetings are essential. Residents complained that "getting together" in a pleasant environment was difficult.

Each project, with the exception of the market townhouses, has some form of shared outdoor space. Three of the four cooperatives and both of the Cityhome rental buildings have small interior courtyards; Fred Dowling has an asphalted interior parking area.

Children's playspace attached to the building receives mixed reviews from residents: more than a third find it poor or below average while another third feel it is excellent (Table 4-G).

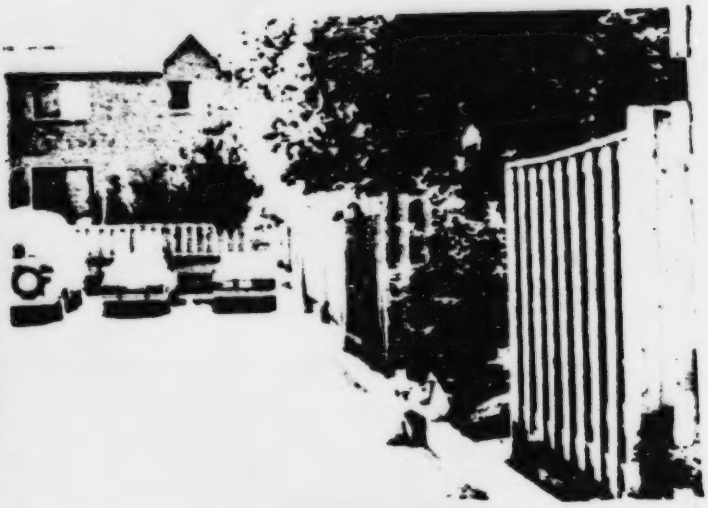
Table 4-G Source: Simon/Wekerle Tradeoff Game.

Evaluation of Residential Environment at Frankel/Lambert - Communal Space

Evaluation	Children's Playspace - Own Building	Indoor Communal Space - Building	Shared Outdoor Space - Building
Poor/Below Average	38%(12)	31%(10)	22% (7)
Average	9 (3)	6 (2)	12 (4)
Good/Excellent	28 (9)	13 (4)	19 (6)
NA	25 (8)	50 (16)	47 (15)
	100%(32)	100%(32)	100%(32)

The lack of attention to communal space, especially in the cooperatives, was a serious oversight in the planning process. A key assumption of the planners was that the street was an important focal point for socializing with neighbours and that

Children's Play Spaces in Projects



residents would relate to people living across the street from them. Yet through the small group meetings we discovered that the cooperative residents in particular identify with their own building and want to associate with others living there. Their orientation is not across the street to another cooperative but across the courtyard or parking lot to others within their own cooperative.

Studies of non-profit housing cooperatives (17) show that cooperatives encourage a high level of participation in communal life and some residents move to cooperatives specifically to be part of a cooperative lifestyle. The City Housing Department survey (Table 4-E) found that the desire for community involvement ranked fourth in the reasons residents gave for moving to Frankel/Lambert initially. Similarly, Schiff's study of housing cooperatives in Metropolitan Toronto found that being able to manage their own housing environment was very important for 61% of cooperative residents and that almost 2/3 of them currently serve on some committee. She concludes that non-profit cooperative housing fills needs other than just shelter at a moderate cost.(18)

Architects of these buildings did not anticipate that this new tenure form might also have consequences for physical design and that common shared space should be available for each cooperative. The planners assumed that no special facilities such as a community centre were required at Frankel/Lambert since these were available and not too distant in the surrounding community.

They also argued that use of existing facilities would integrate the new residents with the existing community. According to the two local aldermen, this has not happened since this neighbourhood has a different ethnic mix from the surrounding community and people associate much more with their own individual coops or buildings. The Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood is an identifiable spatial unit with a name, separated by physical features from the surrounding neighbourhood. Issues arise which are common to this neighbourhood and do not affect the rest of the surrounding community.

One of the aldermen identified the biggest single problem as the lack of an indoor meeting and recreational space. When there were meetings about rent increases, residents had to meet in lobbies, moving vans or at the school which was not always available. Groups making use of school facilities must obtain a permit from the School Board downtown. At times, maintenance people are not informed and the school is locked up. Both the local aldermen noted that residents at Frankel/Lambert do not view themselves as a community but identify primarily with their own building or project. The lack of a community centre or meeting space large enough to accommodate the whole community works against the development of a common community focus and

Older youths looking for something to do. Boredom can lead to trouble.

makes it difficult to organize around community-wide issues. This has been defined as an issue by residents. In response to the City's survey on improvements that residents would like to see, the need for a community center was mentioned by 198 residents and was second on the priority list.

Public Space

Residents were asked to evaluate aspects of the public environment at Frankel/Lambert: the overall safety of the neighbourhood and traffic safety, the adequacy of children's play space and parks, and places for teenagers to gather (Table 4-H).

Table 4-H

Evaluation of Residential Environment Frankel/Lambert - Public Space

Evaluation	Children's Playspace	Outdoor Space Neighbourhood	Place for Teenager to gather	Safe Neigbour-hood	Traffic Safety
Poor/Below Average	22% (7)	31% (10)	47% (15)	0.0% (0)	25% (8)
Average	28 (9)	31 (10)	9 (3)	41 (13)	28 (9)
Good/Excel-lent	25 (8)	25 (8)	3 (1)	59 (19)	38 (12)
NA	25 (8)	13 (4)	41 (13)	0.0 (0)	9 (3)
	100%(32)	100% (32)	100% (32)	100% (32)	100%(32)

Source: Simon/Wekerle Tradeoff Game.

Although neighbourhood safety ranked second in importance when residents looked for housing, there is a very high level of satisfaction with the safety of the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood. Similarly, residents are satisfied with traffic safety in the neighbourhood although the curve of Melita Crescent in front of St. Bruno's School has proven to be dangerous and a steel barrier has been erected to prevent vehicles from going out of control into the school yard.

The greatest dissatisfaction was expressed with the lack of places for teenagers to gather (47% of respondents). They complained that teenagers hung around on the streets and in the courtyards. They were frequently observed vandalizing the small

trees on the site. Although residents had no clear idea of the kind of space that could have been developed to accommodate teenagers, there was a vague sense that programming for teenagers at a local community centre would have kept them off the streets.

Several "hanging-out spots" were appropriated by youths. At the west end of both Lambertlodge and Wychcrest Avenue, the townhouses have a blank wall and there is a bit of sideyard space. The lack of direct front window observation and perhaps the proximity to the school yard appeared to be attractive. The east corner of Melita Park near Hector was another area to hang out and observe the park. To a lesser extent the small area of open space in front of the school at the junction of Melita Avenue and Melita Crescent was a congregating place. Youths also used the benches in Melita Park for meeting friends.

Children's playspace receives somewhat more mixed reviews. People commented that the Melita Parkette is excellent and heavily used but too small to accommodate all the children. In the summer, when the wading pool is open, as many as 200 children are at this small parkette at one time. They have to take turns using the pool. The parkette also does not accommodate the needs of older children.

A third of the participants in the small group meetings felt that the outdoor spaces at Frankel/Lambert were poor or below average. When asked to identify the three public outdoor spaces planned for the community, it was revealing that only four people identified all three--the Melita Park, school yard and Hydro Park correctly. For the most part, residents did not identify the school yard as a public open space as it is surrounded by a high fence, is totally barren, and has no play equipment. Almost all the comments about the space were highly critical: "crowded", "seedy looking", "a mess", "too barren". Many people did not identify the Hydro Park as a park and those who were aware of it were very negative: "cement stripping is ugly", "not too safe", and "needs a running track". In general, the comments made by residents about the outdoor open spaces at Frankel/Lambert were more negative than positive: "pathetic, I don't use them", "inadequate for school-aged kids", and "stoop and scoop needed".

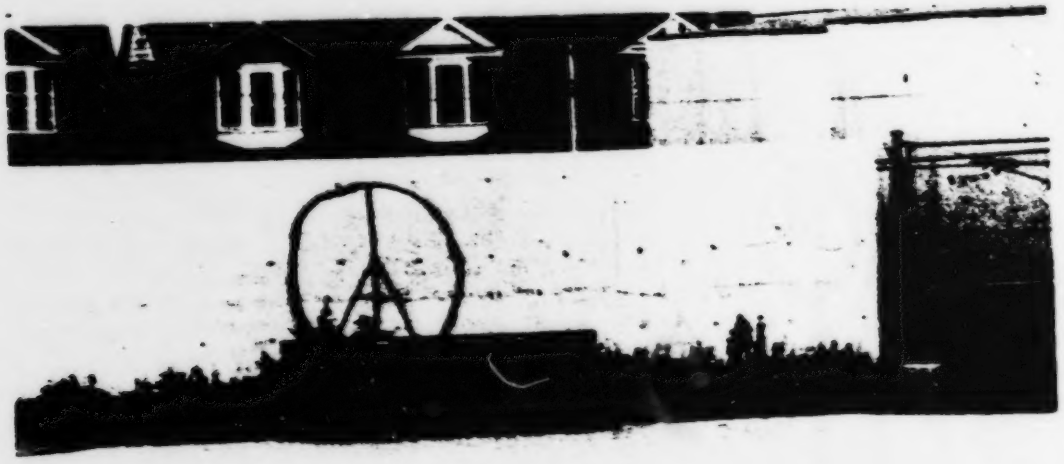
Figures 4-A - 4-F show a dramatic difference in the use of three public open space areas. Melita Park is so intensively used that a number of residents felt it was crowded. The school yard caters for the occasional ballgame. Winter observations show use of the playground when school is in session. The Hydro Park is infrequently used and interestingly the little activity which does take place here happens near the street.

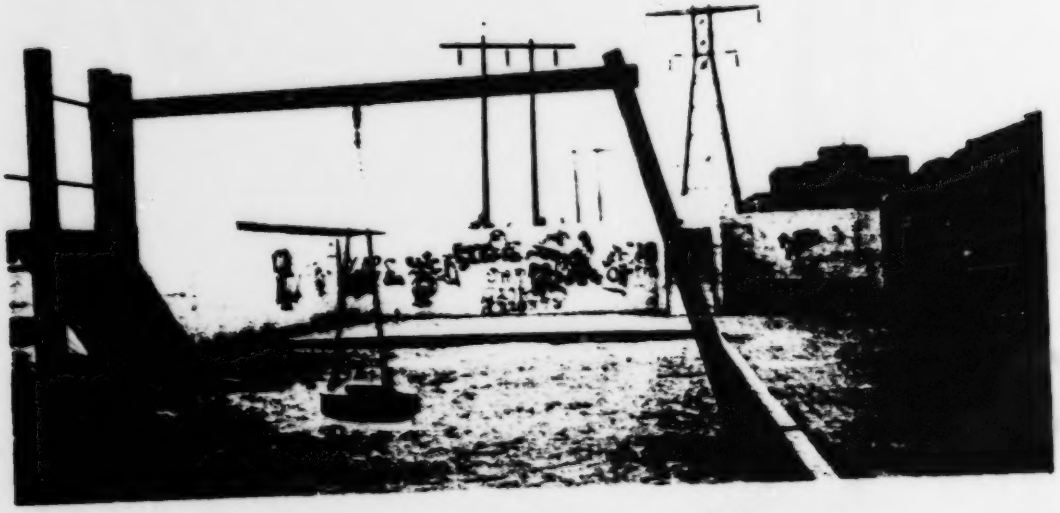
Local Services

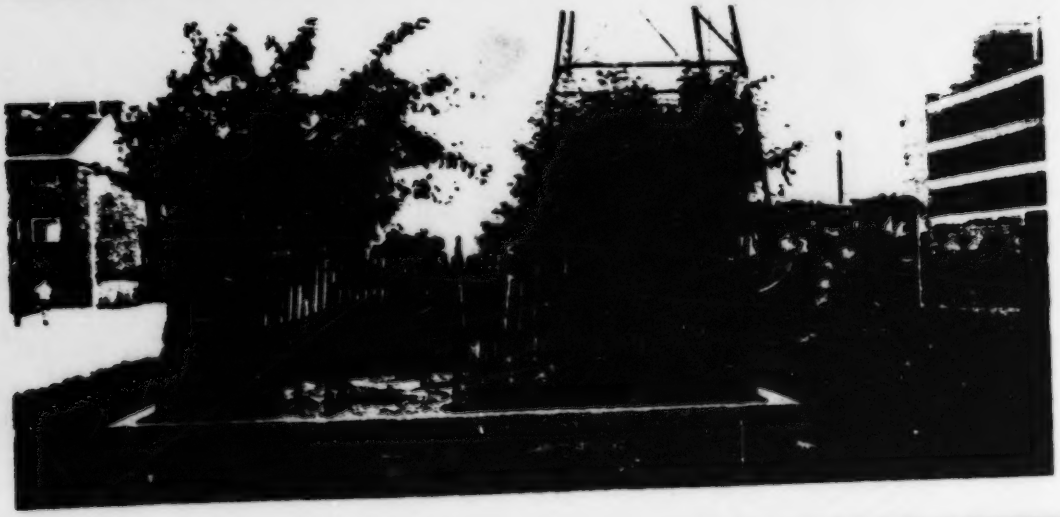
Architects involved in the planning of the site were particularly interested in determining whether the back lanes and corral parking created any special programs of snow removal.

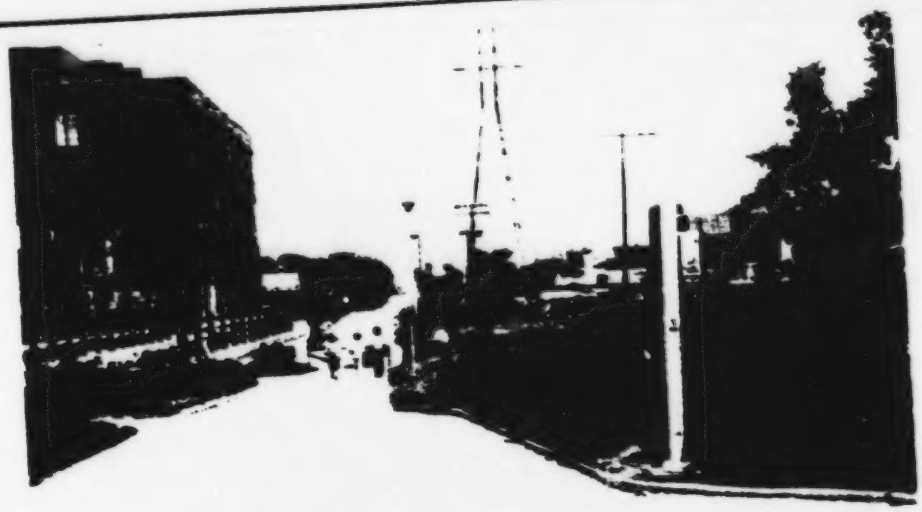
Hydro Park

Residents were unanimous in their condemnation of the park design. Most respondents didn't even consider it to be a park. It is rarely used. The father and child posing for us as the train passes are the exception. There is little to capture or hold a child's interest. Equipment that is provided is poorly designed. For example, the sand box has no edge for seating, no protection from bike hot rodders, and no protection from animals fouling the sand. Note train beyond so called accoustic wall. The recommended barriers for sound insulation were not built.



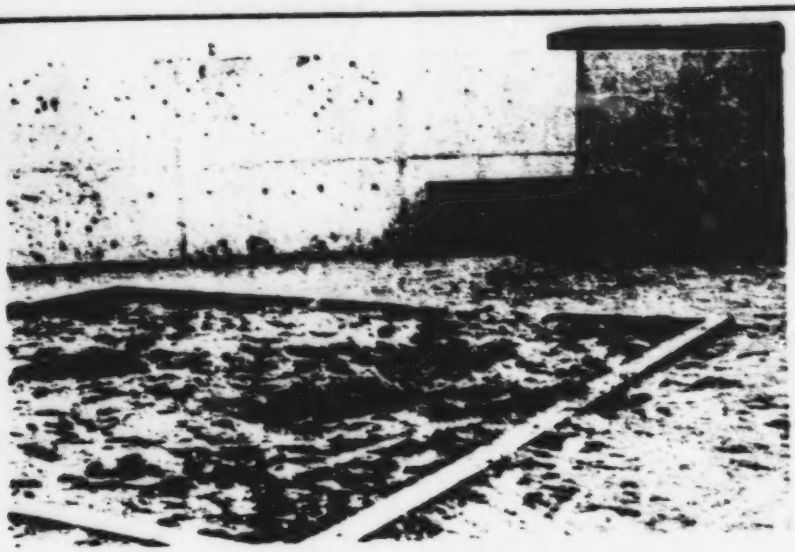


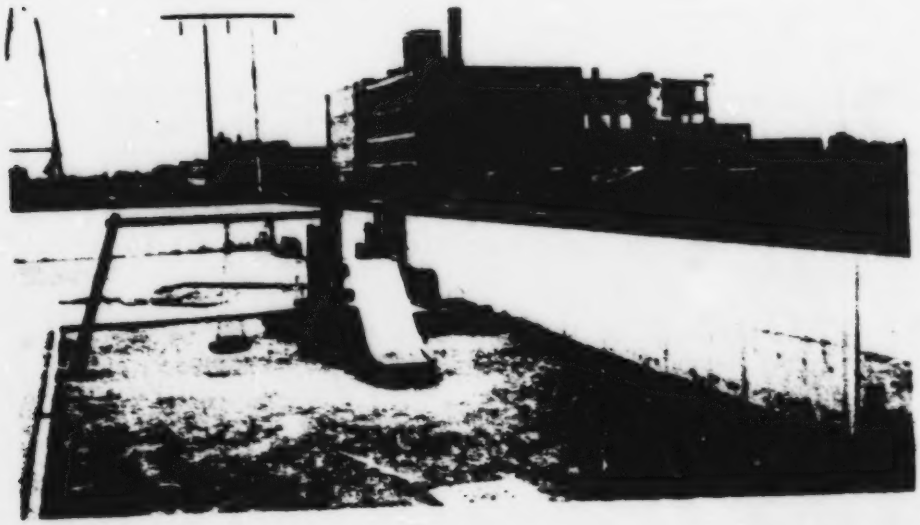


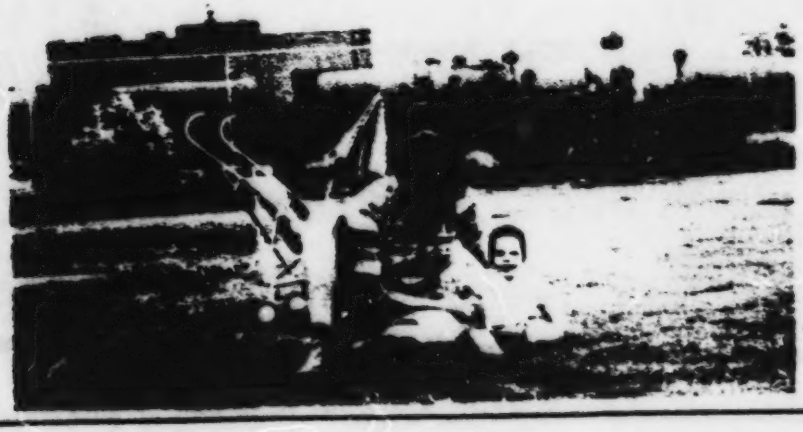


Well-tended flower beds provide an attractive entrance to the site during the summer. Winter landscaping has been ignored. The senior citizens residence overlooks the railroad tracks. Seniors with hearing problems find the background noise, such as that caused by passing trains and traffic particularly difficult to cope with.

Break dancers set up in front of a graffiti backdrop. The Parks Department regularly paints out graffiti.

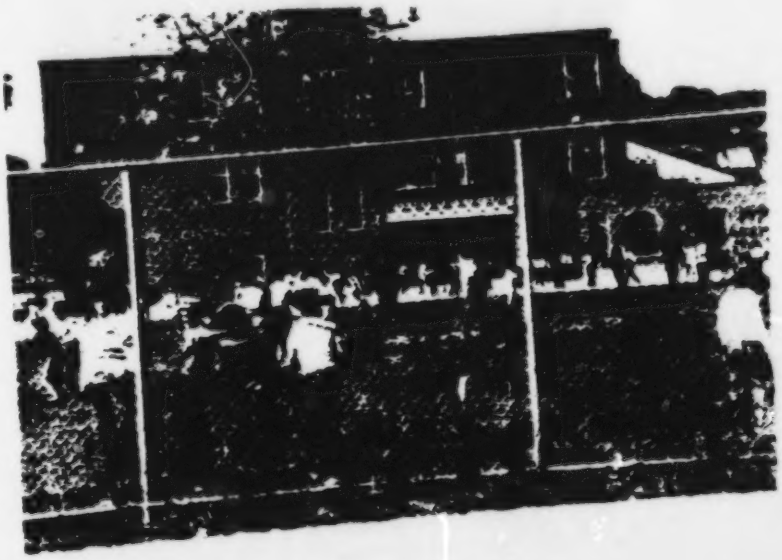




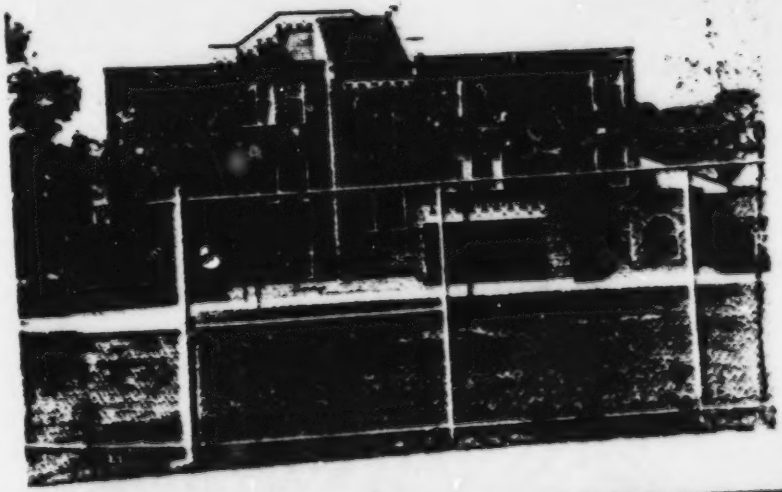


School Yard

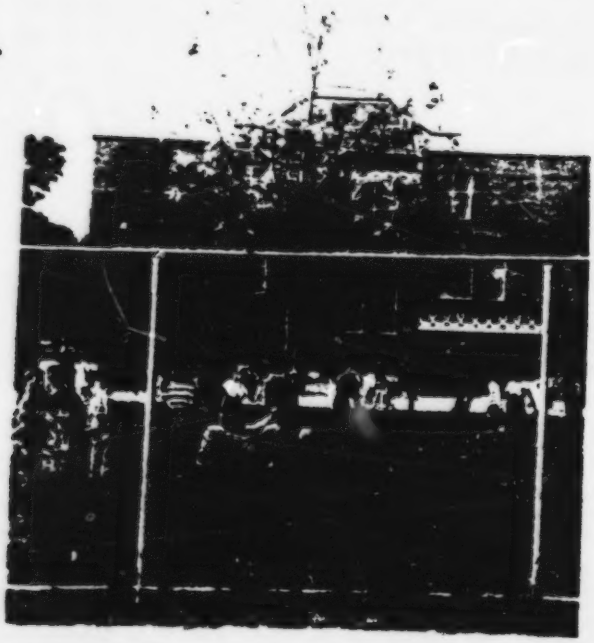
Most residents didn't consider the school yard to be a public space because of the chain link fence and the barren design. It is deserted except at recess.



recess

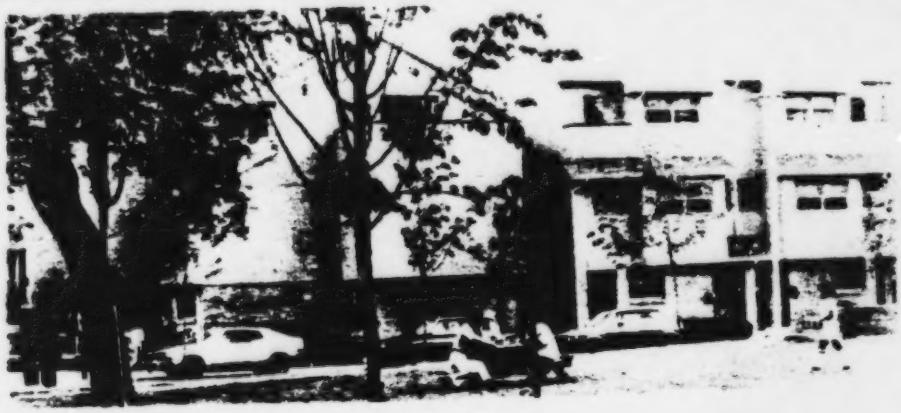


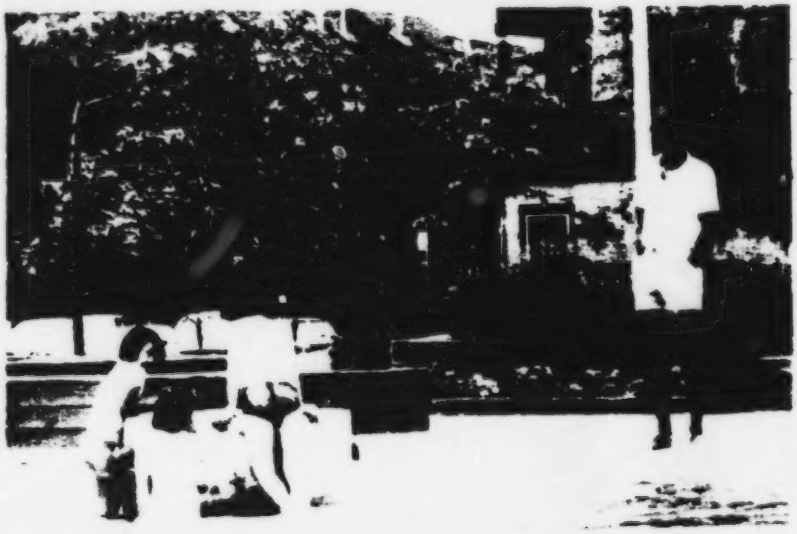
3 minutes later



The trees in all 3 public open spaces were targets for vandalism.

Melita Park





Picnic tables provide a place for adults to talk.

Melita Park is heavily used both winter and summer.

Dogs in area are a problem.

Responses to both surveys indicate that only about one-third of residents find snow removal to be poor or below average.

Proximity to shopping was given as one of the top ten reasons for moving to Frankel/Lambert and 72% of respondents to the survey were satisfied with this service. Residents' opinions varied about the need for community facilities such as a library, community centre or day care.

Table 4-J

Evaluation of Residential Environment at Frankel/Lambert - Local Services

Evaluation	Garbage Collection Storage	Laundry Facilities	Snow Removal	TTC (transit)
Poor/Below Average	12% (4)	6% (2)	34% (11)	34% (11)
Average	41 (3)	16 (5)	41 (13)	25 (8)
Good/Excellent	31 (10)	50 (16)	16 (5)	41 (13)
NA	16 (5)	28 (9)	9 (3)	0 (0)
	100%(32)	100%(32)	100% (32)	100% (32)

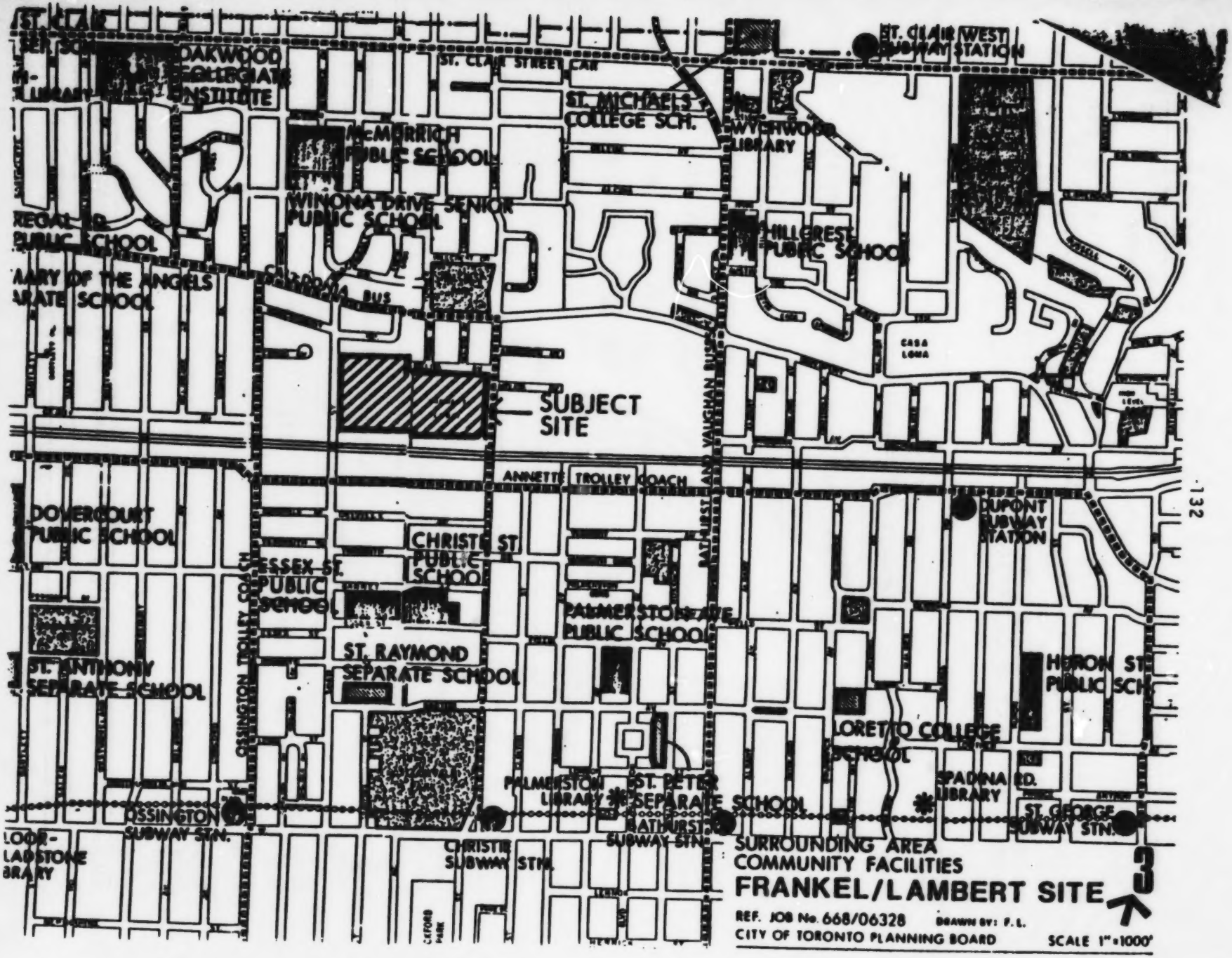
Source: Simon/Wekerle Tradeoff Game

Table 4-K

Level of Satisfaction with Local Services (as a percentage of total respondents N=220

Level of Satisfaction	TTC	Library	Snow Removal	Daycare	Elementary Schools	Conv Shopping	Community Centre
Very or Somewhat satisfied	66%	25%	38%	11%	38%	72%	21%
No Opinion	3	28	27	68	56	3	42
Somewhat or Very Dissatisfied	30	47	35	21	5	24	36

Source: City of Toronto Housing Department Sample Survey Frankel/Lambert July 1983.


ST. CLAIR WEST SUBWAY STATION
ST. CLAIR STREET CAR
OAKWOOD COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE
ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE SCH.
McMURRICH PUBLIC SCHOOL
WINONA DRIVE SENIOR PUBLIC SCHOOL
HILLCREST PUBLIC SCHOOL
REGAL RD. PUBLIC SCHOOL
MARY OF THE ANGELS CATHOLIC SCHOOL
CASA LOMA
SUBJECT SITE
ANNETTE TROLLEY COACH
DOVERCOURT PUBLIC SCHOOL
CHRISTIE ST. PUBLIC SCHOOL
ESSEX ST. PUBLIC SCHOOL
PALMERSTON AVE. PUBLIC SCHOOL
DUPONT SUBWAY STATION
ST. RAYMOND SEPARATE SCHOOL
ST. ANTHONY SEPARATE SCHOOL
HERON ST. PUBLIC SCH.
LORETTO COLLEGE SCHOOL
PALMERSTON LIBRARY
ST. PETER SEPARATE SCHOOL
SPADINA RD. LIBRARY
ST. GEORGE SUBWAY STN.
OSSINGTON SUBWAY STN.
BATHURST SUBWAY STN.
CHRISTIE SUBWAY STN.
LOGAN-GLADSTONE LIBRARY
SURROUNDING AREA
COMMUNITY FACILITIES
FRANKEL/LAMBERT SITE
REF. JOB No. 668/06328
DRAWN BY: F.L.
CITY OF TORONTO PLANNING BOARD
SCALE 1" = 1000'

Proximity to public transportation ranked fifth in residents' ranking of the aspects of the neighbourhood environment most important to them. According to the city survey, two thirds of the residents are satisfied with transit service. In both samples, approximately one third of respondents are dissatisfied with the service and find it poor or below average. An improved bus service was the desired improvement cited third most frequently by residents.

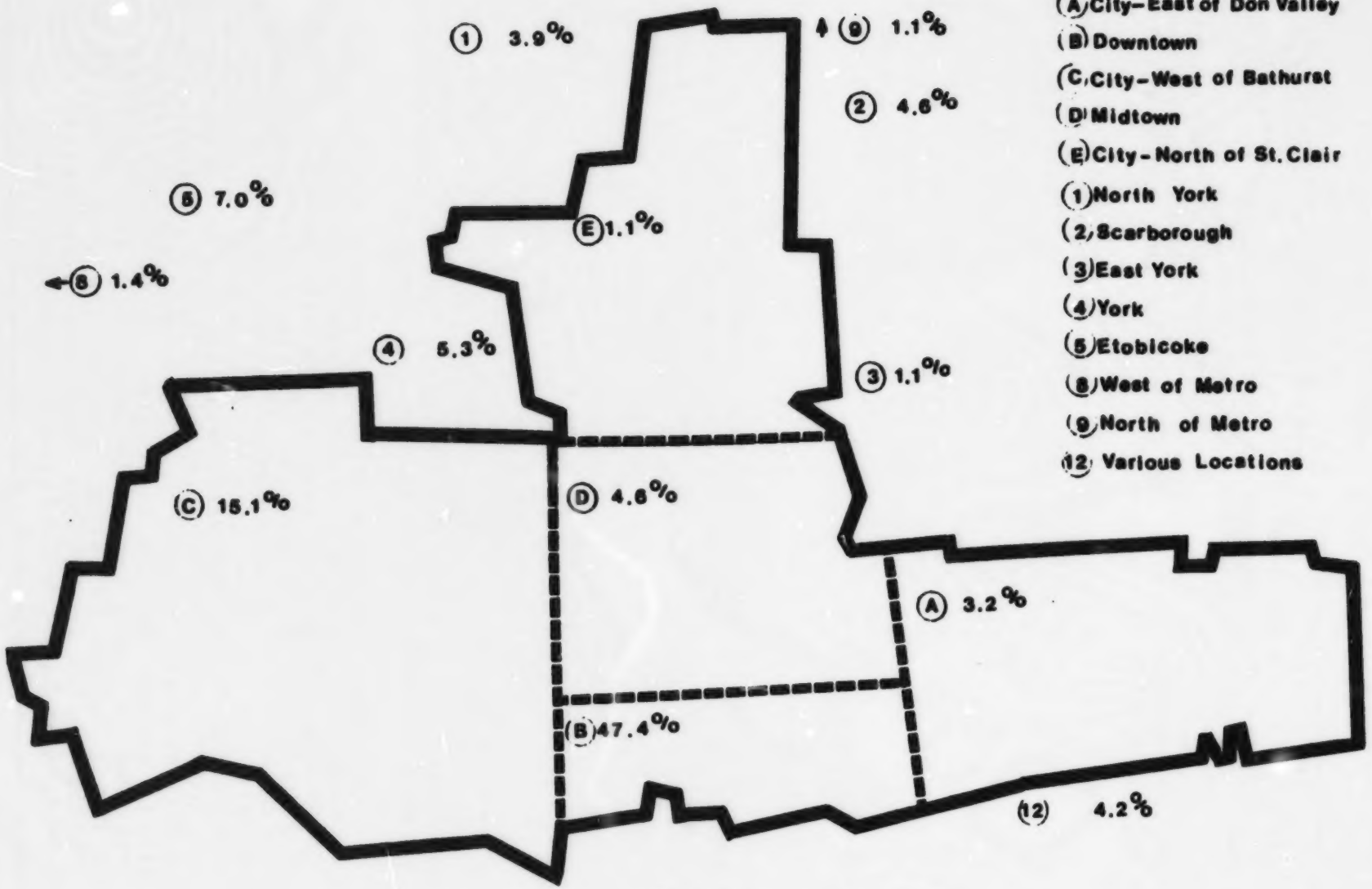
Where there is a deficit in community facilities, such as the library, community centre, and daycare, residents' opinions are very mixed. This may reflect the diversity of needs in the community. There are a lot of residents with no opinion at the same time as a sizable minority is quite dissatisfied with the absence of these facilities. The need for a local library has received most attention in the community and the 47% of residents dissatisfied with this service reflects this concern. When asked what improvements were needed in the neighbourhood, the need for a library was most frequently cited in the City Survey with the community centre a close second.

Accessibility

The location of residential neighbourhoods is critical in providing residents access to a web of social services and resources including jobs, daycare, schools and recreation. According to the City Housing Department survey, the location of Frankel/Lambert and its accessibility to work, shopping, and other facilities was important to about one third of the residents in their initial decision to move to the neighbourhood (Table 4-E). These are not ex-suburbanites attracted to the city, since 71% already lived in the city before moving to this location. This is similar to the finding that 60% of the residents of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood moved from other parts of the city.(19) The study of the False Creek neighbourhood in Vancouver (20) also found that families with dependent children are coming mainly from the city and looking for good accessibility to transit and services.

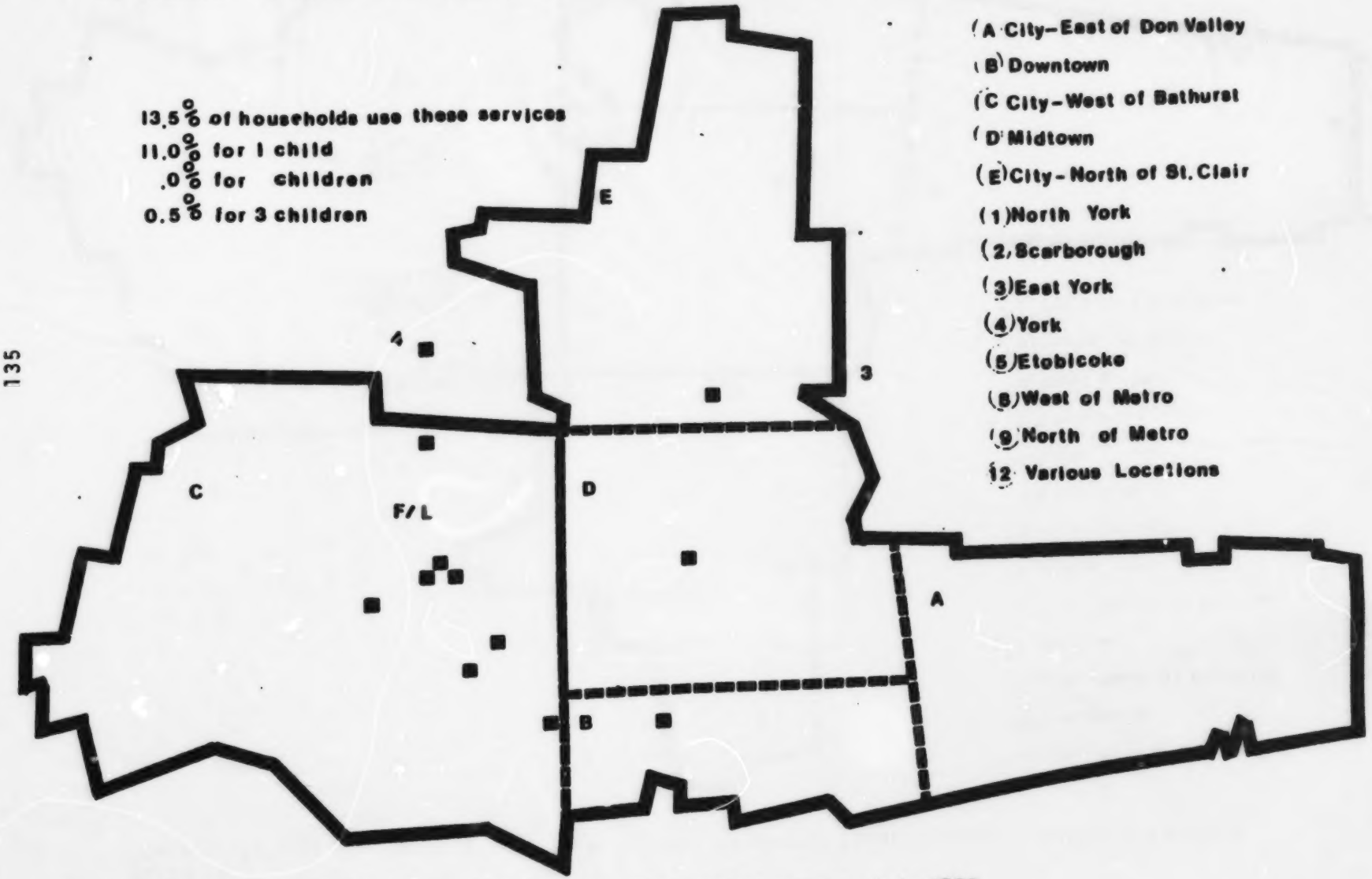
At Frankel/Lambert, proximity to place of work attracted 18% of residents. From the results of the City survey, we see that 71% of the respondents work in the City of Toronto with 47% working in the downtown area (Figure 4-G). Forty percent of these people drive an automobile to work; 41% take public transit. In the core area St. Lawrence neighbourhood, on the other hand, 70% of residents walk to work or take transit and only half of them own an automobile (21). A substantial minority of residents work outside the city of Toronto (23%) with a small number working outside Metro (3%). When Frankel/Lambert was developed, planners accurately anticipated that residents would be commuting primarily to jobs in the core. They did not anticipate that some people might want urban amenities at the same time as they reverse commute to suburban jobs.

'Place of Work' Distribution for Frankel/Lambert Residents Fig4.G



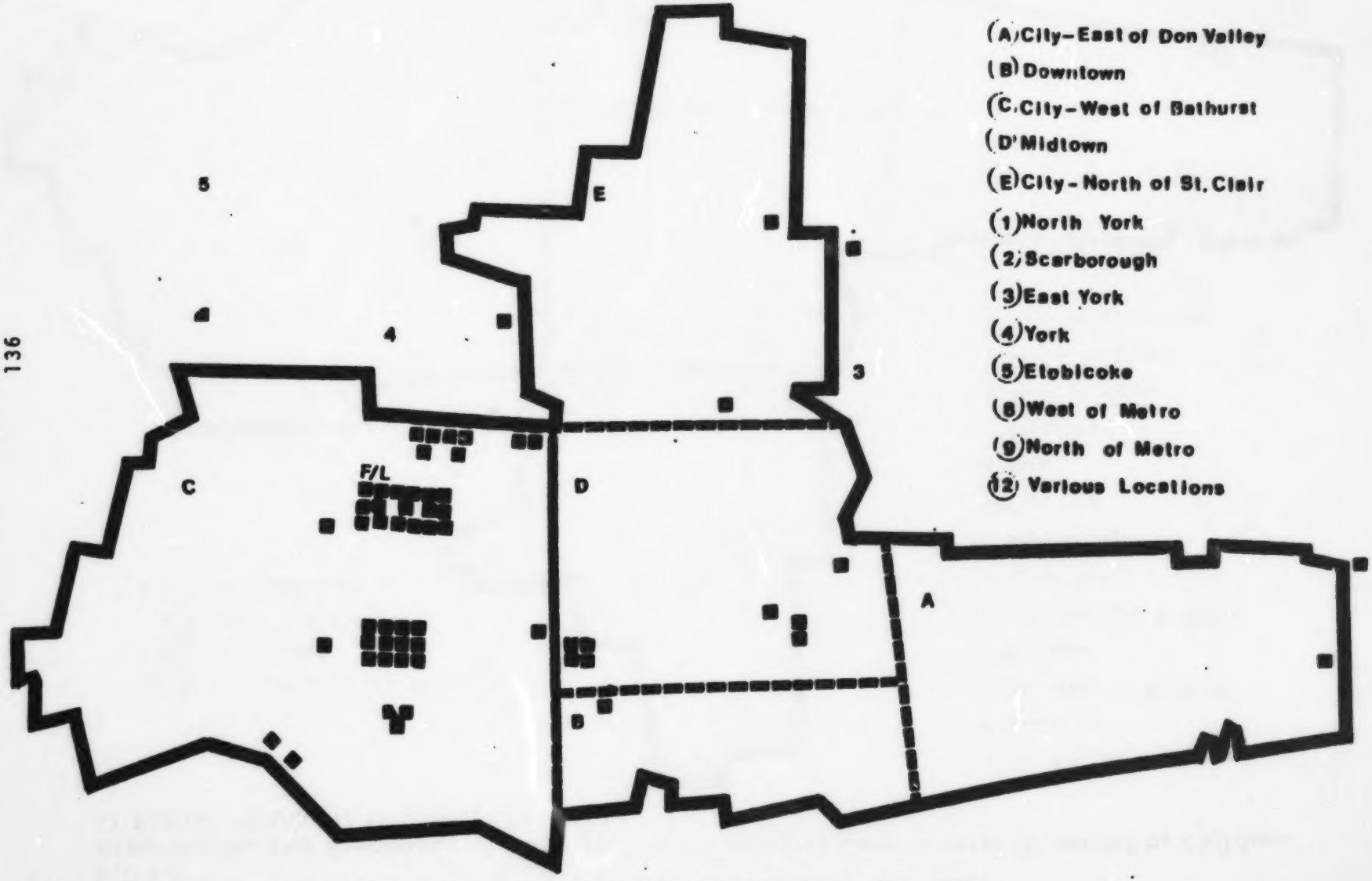
Source: City of Toronto Housing Department Survey of Frankel/Lambert, July 1983

FIG4-H
Distribution and Frequency of Nursery Schools and Day Care Centres Attended by Children of Frankel/Lambert Residents.(N = 220)



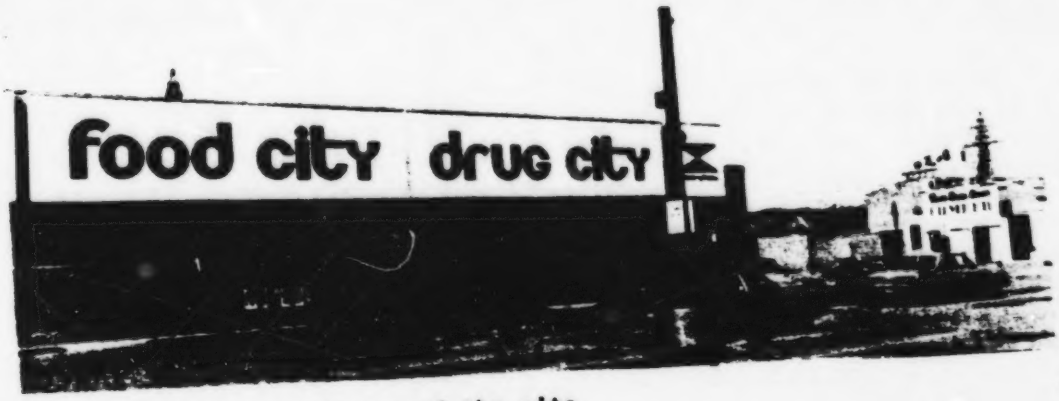
Source: City of Toronto Housing Department Survey of Frankel/Lambert, July 1983

FIG 4-1
Distribution of Elementary and High School Students from Frankel/Lambert (N=220)



Source: City of Toronto Housing Department Survey of Frankel/Lambert, July 1983

Context-Existing Local Services



Supermarket south and east of the site

Corner stores on Christie just north of the site

Hillcrest Park is a district park just north of the site up a very steep hill

Among participants in the small group meetings, more than half worked downtown. The journey to work took between three minutes (for someone working around the corner) to one hour, with half an hour being the most common. Almost half of these residents felt that their accessibility to work was good or excellent.

There is no daycare centre on the Frankel/Lambert site nor is there space to include such a centre in the future. At one time, there were plans that the separate school in the middle of the neighbourhood might provide space for both a daycare and a community centre but these facilities were not included in the program for the school. According to the city survey, 13% of respondents have at least one child in daycare or nursery school. These children are taken to eleven different locations throughout the city: four attend a child care centre just south of the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood; the others range as far afield as King and Bathurst, Yonge and St. Clair, Dovercourt and Bloor (Figure 4-H).

Whether this spread is a result of parents' choice or the general unavailabilty of daycare spaces in the immediate neighbourhood cannot be determined from the data.

Table 4-L

Evaluation of Residential Environment at Frankel/Lambert - Access to Facilities and Work

Evaluation	Access to Cultural Facilities/ Entertain-ment	Access to Recreation	Access to Shopping	Access to Daycare	Access to School	Access to Workplace
Poor/Below Average	28% (9)	38% (12)	16% (5)	25% (8)	3% (1)	6% (2)
Average	16 (5)	12 (4)	37 (12)	6 (2)	12 (4)	22 (7)
Good/Excel-lent	31 (10)	12 (4)	47 (15)	3 (1)	41 (13)	47 (15)
NA	25 (8)	38 (12)	0 (0)	66 (21)	44 (14)	25 (8)
	100%(32)	100% (32)	100% (32)	100% (32)	100%(32)	100% (32)

Source: Simon/Wakerle Tradeoff Game.

The vast majority of residents have no opinion on the availability of daycare, in part, because they do not have children or their children are not in need of daycare. In both surveys, approximately one quarter of the respondents felt that daycare was poor or inadequate at Frankel/Lambert (Table 4-K and 4-L). It should be noted that even when it did not concern them personally, improvements in neighbourhood daycare were identified as a priority by residents.

Appearance of the Neighbourhood

One of the major reasons given for moving to Frankel/Lambert was the overall design of the neighbourhood. Previous research has shown that the appearance and general attractiveness of a residential environment is a strong predictor of overall satisfaction.(22) The City of Toronto survey probed residents' responses to the 'look' of the neighbourhood. These responses indicate substantial approval of the diversity of design achieved through the use of different architects, materials, and variations in the size of projects. Residents also feel that the new homes blend well with those in the adjoining neighbourhood. However, the majority of participants in the small group meetings felt that the new neighbourhood did not resemble the older adjoining neighbourhood. They commented that "the new buildings are uniform and angular", "it's denser and rawer", "the new homes are not as large and well built", and "there is less personalization in the new buildings". Overall, residents felt positive about the appearance of the neighbourhood commenting that it was a quiet and pleasant place to live. When asked to name their favourite building, the Lotus non-profit cooperative received the highest number of nominations. The most frequent negative comment was that the designs are too institutional.

Social Environment

Frankel/Lambert was designed as a neighbourhood which would attract a socially mixed group of residents. The non-profit cooperatives are based on some form of shared social characteristics: ethnicity, gender, or an identification with labour. The mix of tenure arrangements including rental, non-profit cooperative, and ownership townhouses guaranteed one type of mix. A rent supplement programme provided approximately 25% rent subsidized units in both the Cityhome buildings and the non-profit cooperatives. Units range in size from one bedroom to more than three bedrooms. A large building for seniors was the last construction to take place on the site. To what extent is this degree of social mix (usually not found naturally occurring in a traditional neighbourhood) viewed as a positive benefit by residents and to what extent does it result in a lack of social integration?

Residents tend to view the social mix of Frankel/Lambert as a positive asset. When asked their views about the different

lifestyles represented in the neighbourhood, 56% of the participants in the small group meetings felt that this was a good to excellent feature of living there Table 4-M). Almost half of them felt that neighbourliness was good to excellent at Frankel/Lambert. Unfortunately we do not have data on residents' actual contacts with neighbours and whether these contacts go beyond the immediate building or cooperative to include persons living in other parts of the neighbourhood. Based on residents' comments in the small group meetings, there are indications that residents tend to associate almost exclusively within their own building or among others like themselves e.g. homeowners with homeowners, while other residents are viewed as "outsiders" who are blamed for problems such as noise, vandalism, lack of maintenance. The resultant community may not be socially mixed but rather a collection of more or less autonomous cells sharing a common location where the potential for social conflict is as great as the potential for the development of shared community goals.

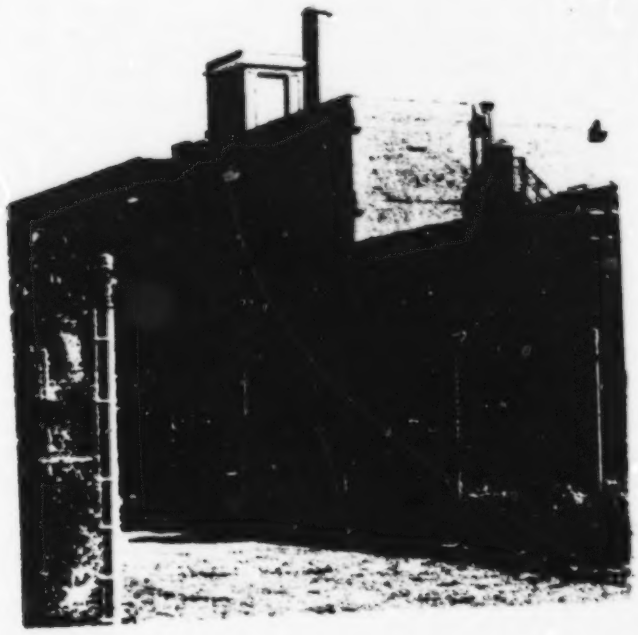
One of the goals of the planners was to create a traditional Toronto neighbourhood that would be attractive to families. Among the participants in the small group meetings, an overwhelming proportion (84%) felt they considered Frankel/Lambert a "family neighbourhood citing the range of age groups, "the housing is open to children", "it's close to schools, shopping and a park". In contrast, only 44% of families have at least one child living at home, according to the city survey.

Table 4-M

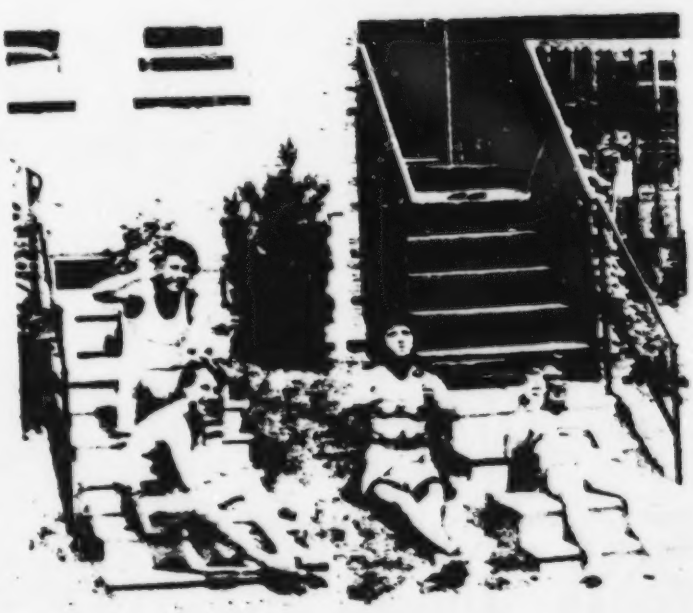
Evaluation of Residential Environment at Frankel/Lambert-Social Environment

Evaluation	No. of people in Neighbourhood	Neighbourliness	Different Lifestyle
Poor/Below Average	37% (12)	12% (4)	9% (3)
Average	37 (12)	25 (8)	9 (3)
Good/Excellent	6 (2)	47 (15)	56 (18)
NA	19 (6)	16 (5)	25 (8)
	100% (32)	100% (32)	100% (32)

Source: Simon/Wekerle Tradeoff Game



INVASION OF
PRIVACY
NOISE



At the same time, there was some concern about the overall population density of the neighbourhood with more than a third of the small group participants commenting that this was poor or below average. It should be noted that density is not usually important alone as it works in combination with overall size of the project, relation of buildings to open space, variety, and protection of privacy.(23) At Frankel/Lambert, the division of the site into small clusters with an identifiable character tends to satisfy some of residents' needs for privacy, identity and attractiveness. At the same time, some of the problems with lack of privacy and noise intrusion may heighten residents' feelings that there are "just too many people" living on the site (Table 4-N).

Table 4-N

Invasion of Residents' Privacy ("Are you bothered by ....") N=220

Invasion	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1. Railway noise	79	36
2. Noise of teenagers/ children playing	73	33
3. Construction noise/ dirt	73	33
4. Smells	49	22
5. Noise from adjacent apartments/halls	49	22
6. Noise of other people outside	47	21

Source: City of Toronto Housing Department Sample Survey Frankel/Lambert July 1983.

Neighbourhood Improvements

Table 4-O shows the ten aspects of the neighbourhood environment that showed the greatest gains in the trade-off game residents played. Predictably, soundproofing between units was the aspect of the residential environment that people wanted most to improve. Secondly, residents wanted to improve housing costs even though they were relatively satisfied with this component. Concern with cost may be related to the relatively large minority of residents with quite low incomes who have trouble meeting the rent even at low end of market levels. Thirdly, residents wanted to improve public transit service, and again,this is one aspect of this neighbourhood that residents are relatively satisfied with. However, the attempt to improve transit even more may

reflect the large numbers of residents who are transit dependent and have no regular access to a private automobile. Although more than two thirds of families own a car, this does not mean that all family members have access to it. The interest in improving traffic safety is again in contrast to the relatively high level of satisfaction with this aspect of the neighbourhood environment.

Table 4-0

Tradeoff-Aspects of Residential Environment

Factors	Gains	Losses	Net (Gain-Loss)
1. Soundproof between Units	29	4	25
2. Housing Cost	23	2	21
3. TTC Service	15	7	8
4. Traffic Safety	14	6	7
5. Access to daycare	13	2	11
6. Children's Play-space Building	11	8	3
7. Number of People in Neighbourhood	11	9	2
8. Personal Parking	11	16	-5
9. Space in Dwelling	11	7	4
10. Place for Teens Gather	10	0	10

Source: Simon/Wekerle Tradeoff Game

Frankel/Lambert has an unusually diverse population and a closer examination of the trade-off game choices shows that on certain variables, some residents feel that these are most in need of improvement while others feel that these are the very aspects of the environment in which they are willing to tolerate lower quality in order to improve something else. These include children's play space attached to the building, the number of people in the neighbourhood, personal parking, and space in the dwelling.

When we take into account that the relative priorities of people may cancel one another out, we find that the improvements that residents would most like to make, even when this means giving up something they already have, are improvements in soundproofing, housing costs, access to daycare, a place for

Table 4-P

Tradeoff-Aspects of Residential Environment

Ranking according to gains	Net Ranking (gains-losses)
1. Soundproofing between Units	1. Soundproofing between Units
2. Housing Cost	2. Housing Cost
3. TTC Service	3. Access to Daycare
4. Traffic Safety	4. Place for Teens Gather
5. Access to Daycare	5. TTC Service
6. Children's Playspace/Building	6. Traffic Safety
7. Number of People in Neighbourhood	7. Safe Neighbourhood
8. Personal Parking	8. Children's Play in Neighbourhood
9. Space in Dwelling	9. Space in Dwelling
10. Place for Teens to Gather	10. Children's Play/Building

Source: Simon/Wekerle Tradeoff Game

teens to gather, and public transit service. Among the top ten improvements four relate to some aspect of the site planning guidelines: traffic safety, a safe neighbourhood, children's playspace attached to the building, and children's playspace at the neighbourhood level. Personal outdoor space does not show up as one of the priority items. Two of the desired improvements--soundproofing and space in the dwelling--relate directly to the severe limitations faced by builders trying to construct housing which falls within CMHC's Maximum Unit Price requirements in a high cost area like Toronto. Three of the ten improvements refer to better services: access to daycare, a place for teenagers to gather, and access to public transportation.

What is interesting about this list is that it highlights perceived deficiencies in the Frankel/ Lambert residential environment which planners either did not consider important in the initial planning process or felt had been provided at an adequate level.

Plans to Move

In past studies of residential satisfaction, residents' plans to move have often been used as an indicator of their overall level of satisfaction with the residential environment. This assumes that residents exercise some degree of choice in their housing and that alternative housing is available to them. With a rental vacancy rate of less than 1% in Toronto, one might argue that moderate income residents have very few alternatives open to them if they decided to move away from Frankel/Lambert. Only 15% of the respondents to the City of Toronto Housing Department survey indicated plans to move out of the neighbourhood soon. About twice as many of the participants in the small group meetings said that they were planning to move. The most common reasons given were rent increases and the need for more space. The non-profit cooperative form of tenure encourages residents to stay rather than move since over time, as the mortgage is paid off, they will reap the benefits of housing priced lower than prevailing market rates.

Conclusions

A relatively simple instrument designed like a game was used to determine residents' experiences of living in the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood. Residents' views of the 'good' neighbourhood were compared with those of the professionals involved in the planning and design process. Although substantially in agreement, there were also significant areas where residents and professionals differed. Overall, residents are quite satisfied with living in the development. However, certain aspects of the design of the dwelling units and the neighbourhood environment are perceived as below standard. These include such elements as lack of space and storage in the dwelling,noise problems and lack of privacy,the small and unusable private outdoor spaces,the lack of community spaces, and the lack of facilities in neighbourhood parks. Much of residents' dissatisfaction is in response to what we have called the miniaturization of both private, shared and public space in this neighbourhood. In order to provide moderate cost housing eligible for public subsidies, the planners and designers of the neighbourhood were forced to squeeze space to its bare minimum: private units are small, private outdoor space has merely the form but not the function of such spaces in traditional Toronto neighbourhoods,parks and public facilities are minimal. Residents are not proud of the public environment of this neighbourhood.Some of them view it as the poor relation which has

received neither the attention nor the resources given to St. Lawrence, the first new neighbourhood developed by the city. In some respects, their satisfaction with the neighbourhood comes more from the opportunities for involvement and from attachment to their own cooperative or building than any commitment to the community as a whole.

Residents are community minded when they think about the kinds of improvements they would like to make in the neighbourhood. And they are willing to give up something to achieve this. An analysis of the tradeoffs residents are willing to make, shows that only three out of ten improvements benefit individual residents: better soundproofing and space in the dwelling, lower housing cost. Four out of ten preferred improvements reflect a concern for providing better facilities for children. Safety and security and improved access to public transportation form the rest of the agenda. These tradeoffs that residents are willing to make provide a clue to current neighbourhood deficiencies and residents' own values.

Section 4: Footnotes

(1) Vischer Skaburskis, Planners. False Creek Area 6 Phase 1: Post-Occupancy Evaluation vol 2. Final Report. Prepared for CMHC March 17, 1980.

(2) Oscar Newman. Defensible Space. New York: Macmillan 1972.

(3) Clare Cooper. Easter Hill Village. New York: Free Press, 1975.

(4) Vischer Skaburskis op. cit., p. 4.

(5) Cooper, op. cit.

(6) Participants were Wazir Dayal, Joe Shimwell, Barbara Lea, CMHC; Sagir Ahmed, City of Toronto Planning and Development Department; Keith Ward, Cityhome; John May, Ontario Ministry of Housing and Municipal Affairs; Joe Berridge, Planning Consultant and former Coordinator, Frankel/Lambert; Alan Littlewood, Architect.

(7) Guido Francescato, Sue Weidemann, James R. Anderson, and Richard Chenoweth. Residents' Satisfaction in HUD-Assisted Housing: Design and Management Factors. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, 1979.

(8) Cooper, op. cit., p. 73.

(9) Ibid., p. 70.

(10) Ibid., p. 225.

(11) Ibid., p. 143.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Ibid., p. 229.

(14) Summary Data, Table 2A, CMHC, 1983.

(15) City of Toronto Housing Department Survey of Frankel/ Lambert, 1983.

(16) City of Toronto Housing Department. "A resident survey in St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. Phase 'A'", Summer 1980.

(17) Myra Schiff Consultants Limited. Housing Cooperatives in Metropolitan Toronto: A Survey of Members. Toronto: Cooperative Housing Federation of Canada, September 1982.

(18) Schiff, ibid., p. 21.

(19) City of Toronto Housing Department. "A resident survey in St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. Phase 'A'". Summer 1980.

(20) Vischer Skaburskis op. cit., p. 13.

(21) City of Toronto Housing Department. op. cit., Summer 1980.

(22) Francescato et. al. op. cit. pp. 8-8.

(23) Cooper, op. cit., p. 217.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this study was to evaluate the site planning process and the final outcomes of that process in the newly created Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood developed by the City of Toronto. In answer to the question of whether it was successful one has to say "yes" with some qualifications. With this development and the previous St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, the City established a track record in becoming actively involved in the creation of new housing instead of limiting itself to the traditional roles of regulation and encouragement of the private sector. It established a precedent for the intervention of the municipal government in the land market, and, in the creation of two new in-city residential neighbourhoods, attempted to implement housing policies established in the mid-seventies. Out of date industrial uses incompatible with the existing residential area were replaced and the entire community gained a needed separate school and the Melita Park tot lot.

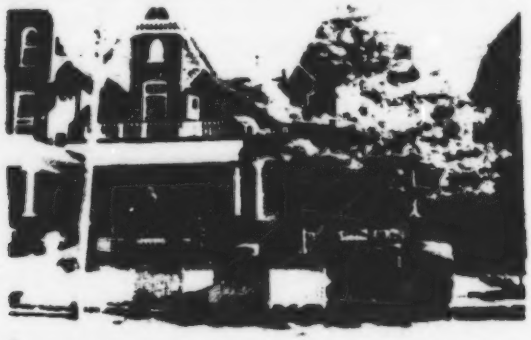
As a reaction to the planning philosophy of the sixties which created the superblock and highrise developments surrounded by poorly designed project space, there was a new focus on the preservation of existing neighbourhoods. New neighbourhoods were created which reinterpreted the traditional 19th century pattern: housing laid along a grid street pattern with dense coverage of the block; diversity of built form; a minimum of private, communal, and public open space; a socio-economic mix. This became the new planning philosophy which established the ground rules for the development of the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood.

The application of these principles, it was felt, would avoid the ghettoization of public housing by integrating subsidized units in moderate income housing projects. The goal was also to incorporate new neighbourhoods into the existing fabric of the city and to promote an active street life.

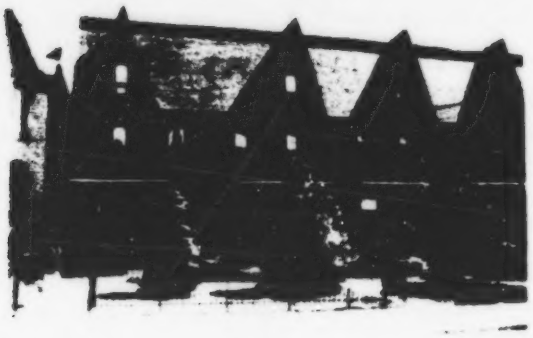
In practice, the implementation of these objectives resulted in a residential environment in which outdoor elements are miniaturized, i.e. spaces are squeezed to the minimum and beyond. This results from the attempt to meet two mutually contradictory goals: recreating the form of the traditional Toronto neighbourhood of ground-related dwellings and, at the same time, achieving relatively high densities to produce housing which low and moderate income families could afford (1).

Our analysis of the planning and development process chronicles how these principles were applied in practice; our observations of activities and meetings with groups of residents establish the degree to which this new neighbourhood is responsive to the needs of users.

The Miniaturization of the Traditional Toronto Neighbourhood

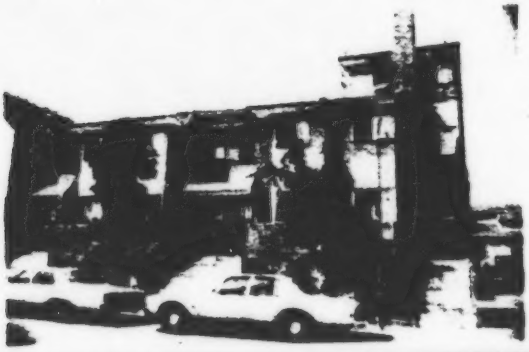


Traditional Toronto
townhouse



New private market
Toronto townhouse
in downtown neighbourhood

Victoria Woods
private market townhouse
Frankel/Lambert



West York
private market townhouse
Frankel/Lambert

5.1 The Miniaturization of the Urban Neighbourhood

There is an industry-wide tendency to the use of site planning standards where almost all of the dimensional norms have been somewhat diminished....."the resultant environment will feel very dense and... the functional adequacy of the local streets, the townhouses, and their backyards may be compromised."(2) At Frankel/Lambert, this problem was compounded by planning objectives to create ground-related dwellings which would allow the new community to blend in with the existing neighbourhood at the same time as overall densities were kept rather high. These constraints resulted in a built environment with limited design flexibility and open spaces where functional adequacy was compromised.

Constraints on height, width and depth served to shrink outdoor space and created a tight design problem. Height restrictions put pressure on the available ground area. The desire to create a grid street system resulted in blocks with a shallow dimension, increasing the pressure on front and backyard space. In an attempt to avoid a uniform architectural appearance, land parcels were fragmented among eight different developers who hired nine different architects (Cityhome developed two parcels built by different architectural firms). The small size of the parcels served to further accentuate space problems.

Site-specific design guidelines tailor-made to fit the site were intended to create a flexible mechanism to evaluate design proposals for individual building projects. They were the expression of the city's assumptions about the elements essential to the creation of a new urban neighbourhood: the grid, house-like forms, high lot coverage, and housing at grade related to the street. In practice, one might argue that design guidelines proved to be too flexible. To cut costs and meet housing targets, guidelines were changed and exemptions were obtained, to the point where some of the elements of the built form were constructed below the standards established either by the city or by CMHC. Although exemptions were justified by the argument that moderate housing was created in the city, this has resulted in a lower environmental quality than intended in the CMHC site planning guidelines.

Density pressures coupled with site configurations and cost restraints kept interior space allocations near the minimum standards. In addition, open space uses also came under severe pressure because of the need to accommodate the automobile. Parking is a major open space use in 1980's Toronto neighbourhoods. Not only was it too expensive to locate parking underground or even to deck over the cars, but ground level parking was preferred. Parking was prohibited in front of the units, thereby resulting in more ground level space devoted to lanes accessing the parking areas.

The resultant development pattern was a miniaturization of the spatial elements found in the so-called traditional Toronto neighbourhood. Some of the elements of the open spaces were reduced to a vestige. While some urban designers argued that the elements retained symbolic significance even when shrunk beyond functional use - a view that is currently "fashionable" in discussing post-modern style - this ignores the concerns of the user.

Looking down at Toronto's low-rise residential streets from the air, one can discern a variety of physical patterns made up of a fairly standard combination of six to ten basic elements (See Figure 5.A).

FIGURE 5.A

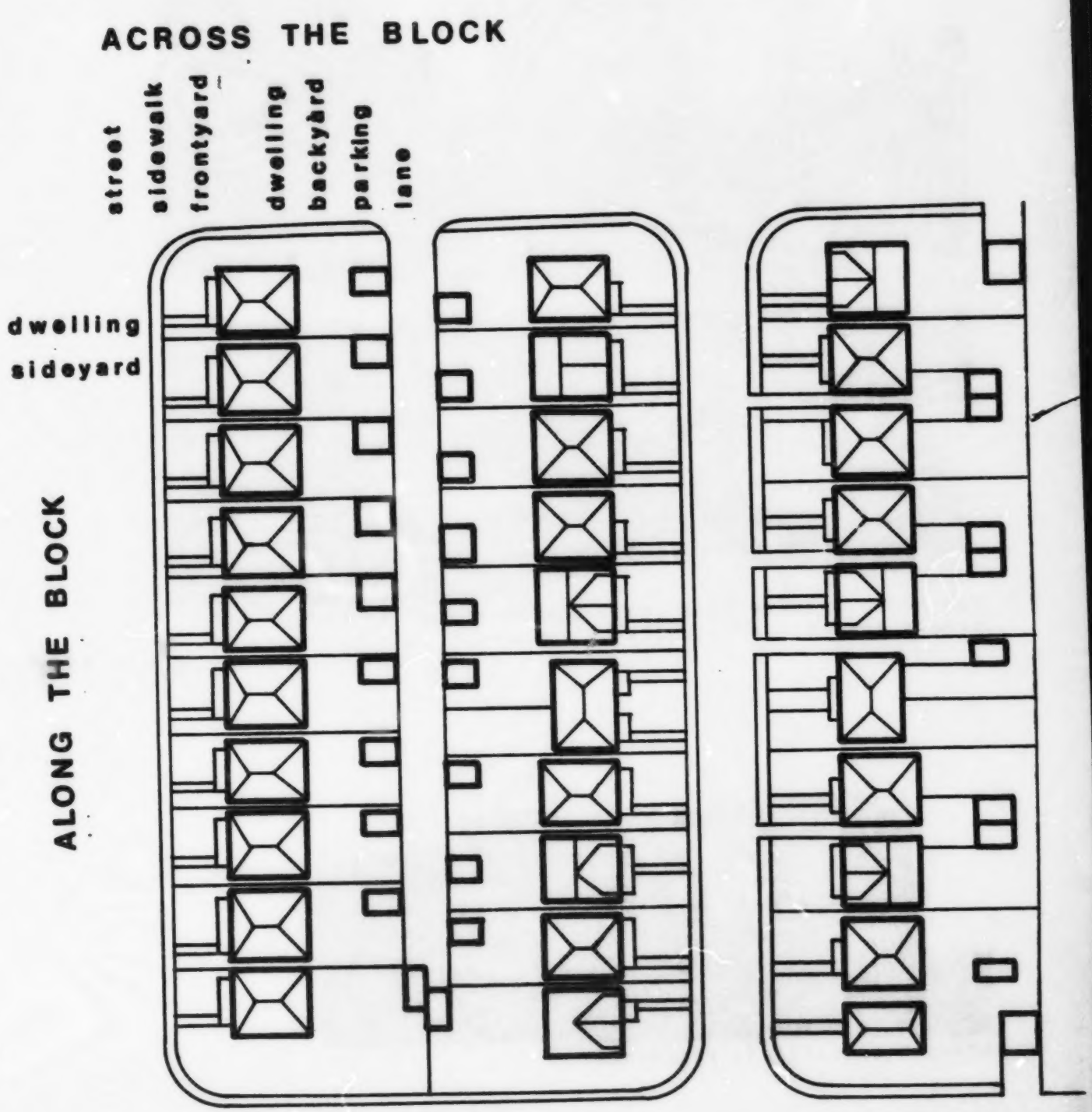
1. Street
*2. Landscaped strip
3. Sidewalk
4. Front yard
5. Dwelling
6. Back yard
7. Parking
*8. Lane way
9. Lot width
*10. Side yards
11. Height of dwelling

* may not be present

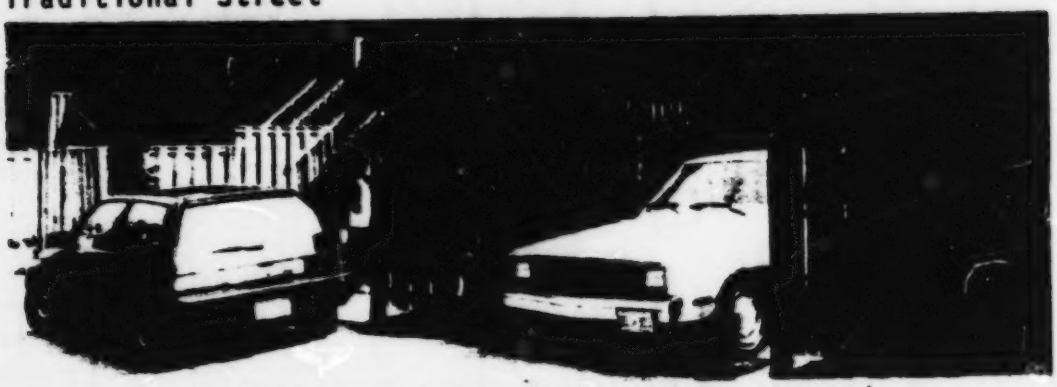
Each of these elements serves a particular function and there are minimum dimensions below which the space is no longer functional. Clearly, a street that is too narrow to accomodate a car no longer serves the street function or a space too small for a car cannot be identified as parking. But are there functions and minimum dimensions associated with front and back yards? Studies, including our evaluation of Frankel/Lambert, clearly indicate that the answer is yes.(3) Moreover, the configuration of the space in front of the dwelling appears to be a factor which inhibits or enhances that lively street atmosphere the planners hoped to create.

The planners sought to replicate the traditional Toronto neighbourhood because of its social characteristics. In miniaturizing the physical elements, they destroyed the setting for the social activities they had hoped to encourage. Although the design guidelines were based on assumptions about how people behave, no sociologist or environmental psychologist was included on the planning team, nor were site planning guidelines based on the growing body of environmental design research.

Fig. 5.A Elements of the Traditional Neighbourhood



Traditional Street



New home, private open space dominated by car and fences isolate individuals

New senior citizens residence

Increasing privatization, less public and communal space at each stage of residential development in this west end neighbourhood

Privatization of Functions

One of the outcomes of the tight dimensioning of outdoor space is the privatization of activities within the house. With a bare minimum of private outdoor space, limited communal space, and unattractive or overused public outdoor spaces, families must turn inward and try to meet most of their needs within the dwelling unit.

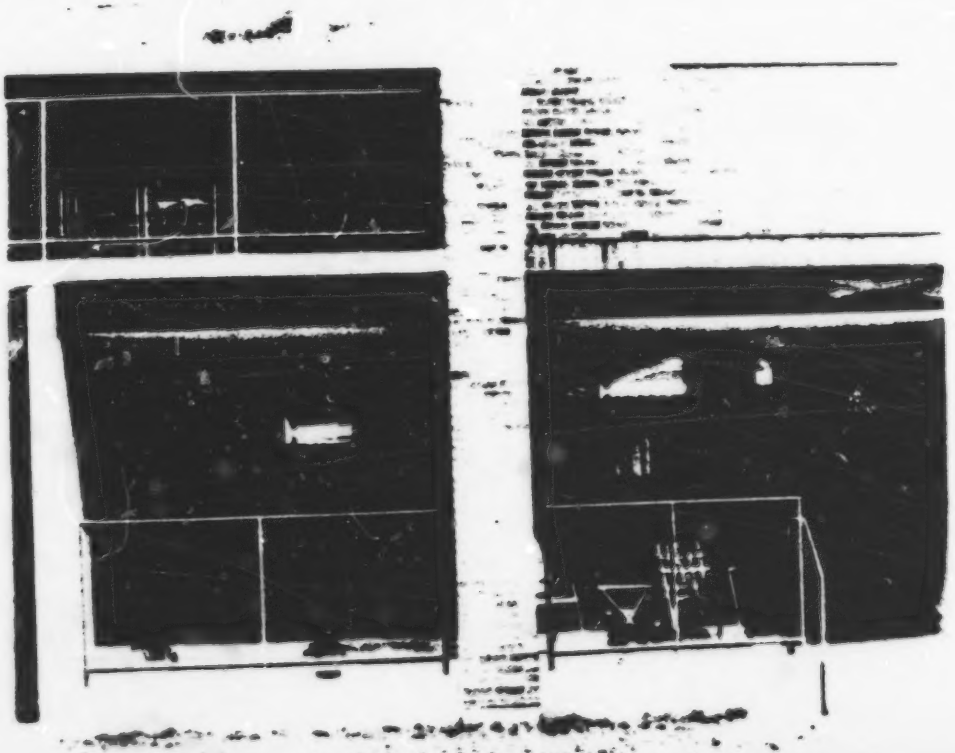
In trying to approximate a house-like environment and avoid institutional arrangements, even elements which traditionally have been shared in medium density housing were privatized. For example, the requirement that dwelling units have doors at grade meant that shared corridors were eliminated in favour of narrow, steep individual staircases to upstairs stacked units. Yet in some small apartment buildings, the corridor works positively to provide a communal space for children's play and contacts among residents. One might also expect that the tight dwelling spaces that resulted from building to Minimum Unit Prices could create heavier demands on outdoor spaces than in traditional residential neighbourhoods.

The emphasis on the privatization of functions within the individual dwelling unit and the absence of public and communal spaces to compensate for the lack of private space is reminiscent of the planning philosophy apparent in suburban single family neighbourhoods where it is expected that each household will meet its basic needs for activities such as recreation, socializing, within the framework of the private dwelling unit. While the large lot sizes and generous internal spaces of suburban houses make this possible, at Frankel/Lambert the extremely tight private dwelling unit spaces make this problematic.

By focusing so heavily on "house-form" solutions to densities where other design alternatives might have been more appropriate, the built environment created at Frankel/Lambert represents some inherent contradictions. It is a neighbourhood of cooperatives, yet daily life is oriented around the private dwelling unit. Few spaces provide opportunities for the development of a shared sense of community. While the neighbourhood was planned to be responsive to a range of household needs and to avoid a project look, in practice, the diversity of building form was severely constrained by height limits and the tight dimensioning of the internal street grid which created building lots of minimal depth. Most of the dwellings are not individually owned residences but stacked townhouse units and apartments which are part of the rental or co-opertive projects thus limiting the potential for exterior personalization. In future, these constraints may restrict the potential for adapting this built form to respond to changing demands.

The replication of the traditional house-form and the traditional neighbourhood as a planning objective must be

Front yards



rethought. There are two possibilities: if a low rise form is desired, densities must be lowered; if densities are maintained, a greater range of forms must be allowed. Minimal dimensions for open space cannot be treated as elastic. When we allow site development at less than minimum standards, we run the risk of losing the functional attributes of spaces. Spaces are not symbolic; they are functional allowing necessary activities to take place.

5.2 Street Space Activities

Planners tried to achieve traditional street relationships of access and orientation. While this was achieved, there are problems of scale and generosity and specific design decisions may limit the potential for street activity to develop at Frankel/Lambert.

Jan Gehl, a Danish architect/planner who has studied street activity in many cities around the world including Waterloo and Toronto, found that "lively residential streets are those where people meet and easily enjoy leisure and chores outdoors. To a large extent, this may depend on the design of the interface between public street and private house".(4)

Gehl distinguishes between three basic types of activities which take place in the residential street space.
Necessary pedestrian activities, such as walking to work, school, shops, occur year round regardless of the climatic conditions or the quality of the physical and social environment.
Freedom of choice activities (strolling, sitting, talking, playing) are influenced by the individuals' desire to participate. Therefore the convenience, comfort, interest and safety provided by streetscape design are critical.
Maintenance activities - washing the car, shovelling snow, tending to the garden or sweeping the porch - are important in generating social interaction because they provide a reason for being outside, thereby increasing the opportunity for casual conversation.(5)

In Waterloo, Ontario, Gehl found "staying", "doing" and "playing" activities accounted for 90% of the time people spent outdoors. The detailed street design has a direct bearing on encouraging or discouraging the development of these activities. "In other words", Gehl advises, "if designers are to create lively residential streets they must cater for stay and play activities".(6)

Our observation studies indicate that a major use of the new Frankel/Lambert street space is for necessary activities, particularly by children going to and from school and by adults to and from work.

There is a dramatic difference in opportunities for "staying", "playing" and "doing" provided by the existing streets

and by the new streetscape. The design constraints resulted in spaces in front of the dwellings which provide only very limited opportunities for freedom of choice activities. The reduced dimensions of the streetscape spaces also disturbed the subtle balance of transition from public sidewalk space to private dwelling space. The importance of this design detail was noted by Jane Jacobs:

> "A good city street neighbourhood achieves a marvel of balance between its people's determination to have essential privacy and their simultaneous wishes for differing degrees of contact, enjoyment or help from the people around. This balance is largely made up of small, sensitively managed details, practiced and accepted so casually that they are normally taken for granted". (7)

On Hector or Rains Streets the person sitting on his/her front porch is approximately 20 feet from the sidewalk with the front yard providing a semi-public zone and the porch a semi-private zone. As shown in the illustrations, the porch space, when it exists, may be within a few feet of the public sidewalk. The traditional front yards on Hector and Rains provide an insulating distance which corresponds to Edward T. Hall's public distance. In his explanation of the distances North Americans use to make different sorts of relationships comfortable, Hall says that twelve feet is the minimum distance necessary to be "outside the circle of involvement".(8) It seems reasonable to assume that persons relaxing on their front porch do not want to be involved with every passerby, whether or not they know them. The miniaturization of the front yard at Frankel/Lambert must have destroyed the balance between public and private zones.

Children have a less clearly developed sense of space so that a reduced transitional space area probably does not disturb the psychological comfort of their threshold play. However, the reduced sidewalks and front yard spaces limit the area available for play. The Frankel/Lambert and St. Lawrence planning documents assume that children will play in the street space. However, Toronto streets are designed for traffic - not play. As Jane Jacobs observed, traffic makes streets dangerous play areas, it is the sidewalk where children should play. She advocates sidewalks 30 to 35 feet wide considerably wider than existing standards, to accommodate their play and pedestrian movement.(9) In the traditional neighbourhood, the sidewalk, together with the front yard space, provide a linear play zone that is this wide. In some parts of Frankel/Lambert that combined space has shrunk to 8 feet.

Re-introducing the grid into the planning of new neighbourhoods was seen as a way to integrate them with the existing fabric of the city. In medium-density developments like Frankel/Lambert there is a need for the positive design of street space. The limited amount of open space must be carefully

People need a reason to be out in front of there homes

for some a lively street is a noise problem

a typical activity level

urban designers tend to forget winter

designed for human activities so that the automobile does not dominate. Even though standard road allowances were narrowed and off-street parking requirements reduced, parking areas and streets continue to dominate the built environment. Careful attention has not been paid to the design of the streetscape using landscaping, street furniture, and activity generators to emphasize the prime function of the area as a place where people live.

Alan Littlewood, the City's consultant on open space design, felt that the street should have been designed with the greatest care and attention to details such as lightposts, trees, driveways, the delineation of private open spaces in front of houses.(10) However, the money was not allocated and streetscape was not a priority in the push to get the housing built. Europeans have coped with living at high urban densities for a much longer period of time than Canadians. They have devised coping strategies and are moving towards re-establishing the primacy of human uses over automobiles in residential areas. Strategies such as those employed in Dutch cities, which stress the positive design of streets and sidewalks, need to be adapted to Canadian circumstances.

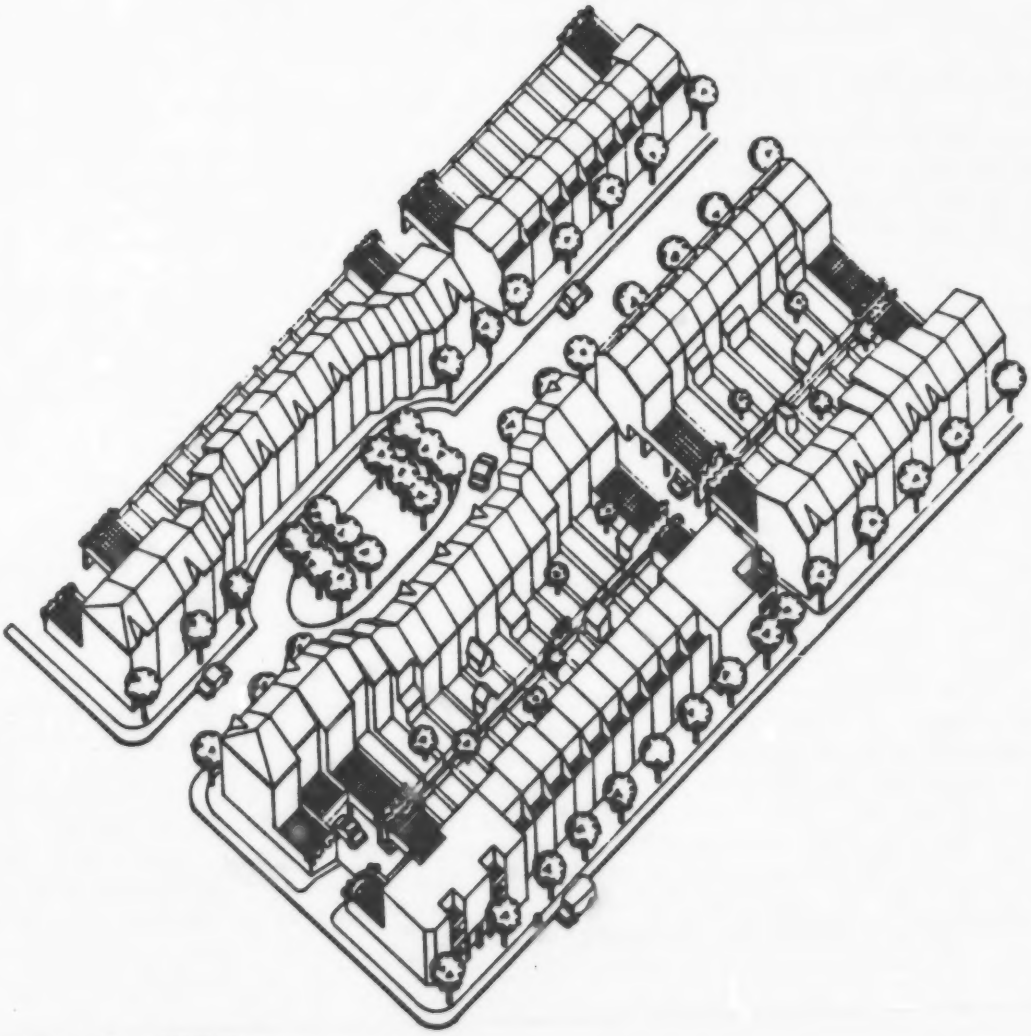
While considerable time was devoted to parking standards and parking solutions in the planning of the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood, our study shows that parking continues to be a problem. Residents are largely dissatisfied with parking arrangements. The design of many of the parking areas makes it difficult to establish territorial rights to allotted and paid for parking space. In a number of instances there is no keyed lock access into the rear of the units making the functional relationship between rear parking and front door inconvenient. For the most part, conflicts between the use of scarce open space for parking or for recreation have not been adequately resolved. This issue requires further study.

5.3 Public Open Space

In medium density housing, where personal outdoor spaces have been squeezed to the minimum and beyond, the quality of the public open space, not just its quantity, becomes critical to residents' quality of life. While there are three spaces classified as "park" space, only one of these is perceived by residents as a public open space open to all of them. This is the Melita Parkette in the centre of the community. It is very intensively used during all seasons and is a successful play space for young children. However, it does not meet the wide range of needs represented by the rest of the population: older children, teens, adults, and the elderly. Well designed active and passive recreation areas for all age groups are required to maintain both physical and mental health.

The linear park on the Hydro right-of-way and the playground of the elementary school in the centre of the community represent

Reality



Design Study 1977

missed opportunities to provide public open space to accomodate those groups not served by the small parkette. As our analysis has shown, these spaces are not perceived as public open spaces by residents, they are sparsely used, and they are negative impacts rather than a positive feature of the community.

What is required is a more creative look at the potential of these spaces. There are precedents for using Hydro right-of-ways for such activities as allotment gardens and this might be an attractive alternative to residents with a minimum of space for growing flowers or vegetables. It could be used as an adventure playground for children; for lawn bowling for seniors or for other activities. Similarly, there are many examples of community schools which have taken down the fences separating them from the community and have installed landscaping and facilities which would encourage community use for picnics, children's play, or other activities. Especially since initial discussions with the school board focused on shared community uses, this would seem a fruitful avenue to follow up to provide a precious resource in the community.

5.4 Noise Transmission

Noise transmission was identified as an ongoing problem by residents of Frankel/Lambert. This takes several forms: problems with sound proofing between units, noise from people's activities outside, and railway noise from passing trains.

Lack of auditory privacy relates to the type of construction and the stacked townhouse form as set out in the design guidelines. The small size of private outdoor space also contributes to unwanted noise problems over which individual residents have limited control. In addition, the frequent trains create both vibrations and noise. The combination of all three types of uncontrollable noise intrusion may create considerable stress for some residents.

New moderate cost housing in already built up areas is frequently built on obsolete industrial sites adjacent to railway lines. A special CMHC advisory document addresses the issue of railway noise in residential areas.

In response to these standards, noise studies were done at the Frankel/Lambert site during the initial planning stage. Although the mitigation of railway noise is dealt with in CMHC's Site Planning Guidelines, sound reduction barriers were not incorporated into the site design as built nor were units overlooking the railway constructed at a higher quality. Since there is an on-going problem of constructing moderate income housing near existing railway lines, the issue of noise transmission must be further addressed.

5.5 Local Services

In creating a socially mixed community of moderate income residents, the planning process at Frankel/Lambert brought together groups of residents with a higher than average dependence on services available in the local neighbourhood. There is one building for seniors, the proportion of single parents is twice as high as the city average, and a high proportion of mothers work outside the home. These three groups share certain characteristics: they are dependent on public transportation or walking rather than having access to a private automobile; they share a concern for safety and security; they have limited time and/or money and, as a consequence, they are dependent on services at the neighbourhood level.

Where a new neighbourhood attracts large numbers of residents who have limited mobility and resources, special attention must be paid to their access to essential services. Just because the neighbourhood is in a built-up area of the city, one cannot assume that residents have ready access to services. Important factors are the needs of the residents compared with the locally available shops and services, residents' ability to access these facilities, and impediments to access such as topography, bus schedules and routes. Located on a site which is cut off from the surrounding community by arterial roads, a railroad track, and an escarpment, children and the elderly might not readily be able to access facilities in the surrounding community even when straight line distances seem reasonable to planners.

While land use planning is divorced from the provision of social services, space for services must be allocated in a community during the development phase if services are to be locally provided. The planners of the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood assumed that residents would share social services and public facilities available in the surrounding residential community, and, except for a site for an elementary separate school, no sites were allocated for public facilities.

The Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood was developed as a strictly residential enclave with no shops or other services adjacent to the housing, no daycare, no community centre, no public library. Yet it is in some of these areas that residents would like to see improvements: better facilities for children, places for teenagers, safety and security, improved public transportation. The tight design of the neighbourhood makes it difficult to adapt existing spaces to meet community needs such as requests for a local library.

In developments constructed by the private sector, the city is in a position to bargain with other agencies or developers for space to be allocated to community facilities. In non-profit developments, the city needs to pursue alternative mechanisms. For example, a daycare facility might have been incorporated

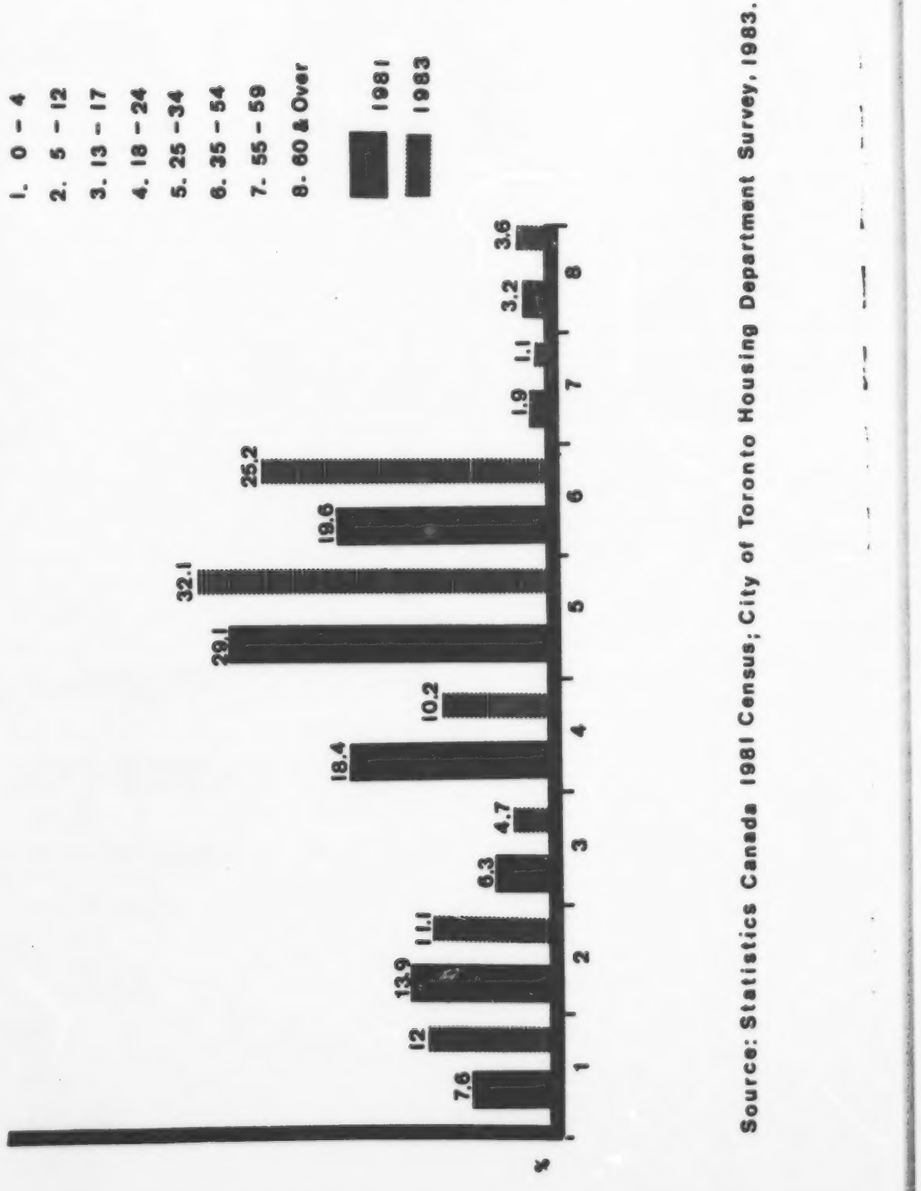
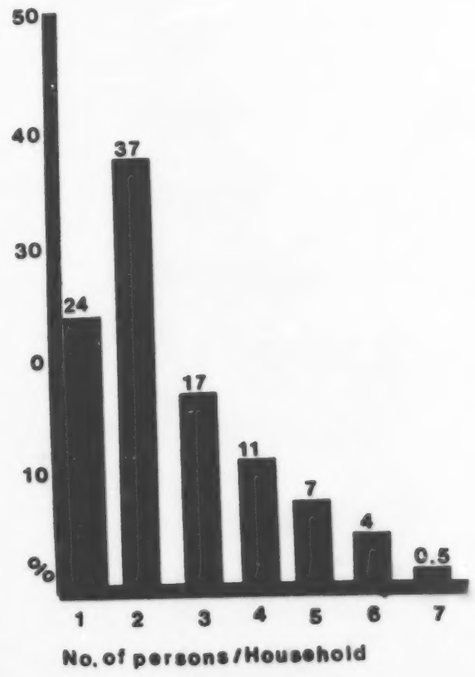


Fig. 3-B
Age distribution for Frankel Lambert residents in 1981 & 1983

Source: Statistics Canada 1981 Census; City of Toronto Housing Department Survey, 1983.

Fig 3-C
Household Size Distribution in Frankel / Lambert
(N = 220)



Source: City of Toronto Housing Dept. Survey of Frankel / Lambert July 1983

within the elementary school built by the separate school board at Frankel/ Lambert. According to the former principal of that school who was involved in the development of the site, the architects for the board had detailed plans on how the building could accommodate both a daycare centre and a community centre. Discussions with the Commissioner of Planning had led to promises to allow for shared community use of school facilities. However, according to the principal, the City did not initiate discussions with the Board on funding arrangements for a community centre and day care centre. To expedite building and avoid further delays, the Board went ahead with the simplest solution - a school only. In so doing, the opportunity was lost to incorporate community space into the school building.

The elementary school run by the Separate School Board of Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood is a very valuable resource as it is the only community facility. However, as our study shows, few residents view the school as a facility available to them. Throughout the city, the trend is to use neighbourhood schools to meet community needs such as adult education, meeting space, daycare. St. Bruno's is currently open for community use: a double gym is available to Frankel/Lambert residents; Parks and Recreation uses the building for a supervised summer programme; and the building can be booked for evening meetings. In future, one can predict increased pressures on this school to provide for community uses.

Any future developments built at the scale of Frankel/ Lambert should build into the programme possibilities for the multi-use of any public facilities such as schools, seniors, housing, churches. Careful planning at the outset can realize cost savings by co-locating seniors' housing, a senior centre, school and daycare centre to share kitchens, meeting rooms and recreational facilities such as a gym or swimming pool. This has been tried in new suburbs outside Copenhagen with good results. It makes sense in a community such as Frankel/Lambert where community space is at a premium and where economies of scale and shared space could result in reduced costs and/or better facilities.

5.6 Importance of Environmental Quality

From our study, it would seem that the goal of creating a socially mixed community through CMHC's social housing programme has been met. Residents find this a positive feature of their neighbourhood and the 56.1-programme has given ethnic groups and voluntary associations the opportunity to develop housing cooperatives responsive to their own needs and control over ongoing management of their housing. The small size of the projects has helped to create a strong sense of community within each development, particularly in the four coop projects. Subsidized tenants are not stigmatized in Frankel/Lambert, but this has more to do with the structure of the non-profit and co-operative social housing programmes than physical design

features. The resultant housing is an improvement over the large scale public housing projects which were built in previous decades.

Despite these advances, however, there is still a tendency to treat developments such as Frankel/Lambert as housing for the poor and people with limited housing options. The emphasis is on providing basic shelter with few resources allocated to ensuring the quality of the outdoor spaces and the future viability of the neighbourhood. Yet, as we have found, the development of community pride among residents is linked to the upkeep and appearance of outdoor spaces.

The design and upkeep of private, communal, and public spaces may be vitally important to the long term attractiveness of socially mixed communities such as Frankel/Lambert. In order to retain its social mix, the community must maintain its appeal to those residents who have other housing options -- homeowners and residents who are paying rents close to market levels. These higher income groups can afford to be selective about the community they live in yet their continued presence is essential to perpetuating a socially integrated neighbourhood.

Some socially mixed developments offer unique attractions which will undoubtedly continue to appeal to all income groups. St. Lawrence Neighbourhood's accessibility to the core area provides this socially mixed community with a locational advantage which other areas cannot offer. False Creek in Vancouver is valued by residents of all income groups for the design of development and the spectacular views of the city from the site as well as its proximity to downtown. Lacking such basic advantages, the Frankel/Lambert type site requires special care in its design and maintenance to keep its mobile residents .

As we have pointed out, little attention has been devoted to the question of whether the new form of non-profit housing cooperatives might call for particular forms of architectural expression. The small housing cooperatives built at Frankel/Lambert present a paradox. They are just the right size for self-management and the development of a sense of community, yet too small to warrant funding for the kinds of communal space which would facilitate these activities. The co-op management structure should be seen as an opportunity for facilitating improvements and adaptations over time. A less dense site plan would have allowed the construction or expansion of internal and external communal facilities when co-ops could afford them.

The cooperative sector is growing in Canada and one is tempted to speculate on whether membership in a housing cooperative might form the basis for other shared enterprises such as food cooperatives or a daycare cooperative. However, with a shortage of space outside the individual units, the potential for such spinoffs may be limited. According to Joe Berridge, manager of the site development, initial plans called

for housing units which incorported space for home occuptions. However, funding programs did not permit this. Yet home occupations are an expanding sector of the economy providing jobs and sometimes even essential community services.(11) The New American House Competition which captured the imagination of designers and consumers in the United States in 1984 was for the design of medium density row housing incorporating built-in space for home occupations. Work is now proceeding on the construction of the winning entry to demonstrate this new trend in housing for urban areas. Toronto planners have actively encouraged large-scale mixed-use developments but they appear reluctant to endorse this planning philosophy at a smaller scale.

5.7 Lessons Learned from the Development

The purpose of a post-occupancy evaluation is not to attach praise or blame but to learn from experience so that future developments may benefit. The development of new neighbourhoods such as Frankel/Lambert are experiments in physical and social planning. With few precedents to draw from, planners' assumptions about the way neighbourhoods work and the kinds of people that would be attracted to these communities took on a greater than usual significance. As this study has shown, several key assumptions were not borne out in practice:

(1) Most important, the goal of achieving a built form which replicated the traditional Toronto neighbourhood is called into question given current economic constraints. The necessity of building at moderate density and, at the same time, maintain tradition housing forms were mutually contradictory goals which could only be achieved by the miniaturization of private, shared and public open space. Increasingly dense residential development is a nation-wide trend and the implications for livability have not been adequately examined.

(2) The use of site-specific site planning guidelines resulted in flexibility of approach but the innovation and responsiveness to users argued for to justify this appoach was not demonstrated. Greater attention must be directed to the derivation of such site specific guidelines and to the protection of community standards and goals particularly when developers are public bodies with public accountability.

(3) Assumptions about parking requirements proved incorrect. In the construction of social housing, there is a need to rethink the role of car ownership among the various groups served. There is a need to come up with alternative solutions which accomodate cars and residents' mobility needs without devoting excess space to parking and access lands.

(4) There is a need to examine cases of residential construction adjacent to railway lands, to determine why existing standards are not currently implemented.

(5) While the creation of a social mix was one of the planning objectives, the public spaces and facilities provided in the community did not reflect the diversity of households attracted to the new community. The social mix of Frankel/Lambert goes beyond the socio-economic mix that planners often aim for and includes a range of stages of life cycle, age groups, and different ethnic cultures. The planning process did not anticipate that facilities would have to respond both to the range of specialized needs while, at the same time, creating a common focus and opportunities for interaction that would cross group boundaries. We have argued for greater attention to the streetscape and transition spaces at the boundaries between private, communal, and public spaces. Experience has also shown that the residents of Frankel/Lambert differ significantly from the population in the surrounding neighbourhood and this, to some degree, hampers that integration and use of community facilities that was predicted.

(6) The provision of only a limited amount of space for public facilities on the site has resulted in pressures for the construction of new facilities such as a library immediately adjacent to the site. This suggests the need for better coordination among publically funded bodies such as school boards and providers of seniors housing to ensure that opportunities for multi-use of facilities have been examined and to allow for cost sharing and cost savings in the co-location of facilities.

(7) In any new housing experiment it is inevitable that residents' priorities will differ from those of planners. Frankel/Lambert is no exception. When residents place a higher priority than planners on neighbourhood safety this reflects a general North American trend to be concerned with personal safety in public space and the security of the home environment. While Canadian cities do not have the same problems with crime as some other North American cities, this is an area which might receive greater attention in the development of site planning standards. The higher priority that residents place on transit service and access to shopping may reflect the increasing transit dependence of certain groups of the population. There is a greater need to relate transit planning with land use planning with an emphasis on the location of transit stops, the location of stores and essential services within walking distance.

In summary, residents living in the Frankel/Lambert neighbourhood are reasonably satisfied with their neighbourhood environment and few of them have intentions to move in the near future. However, certain aspects of the dwelling units and the neighbourhood environment are perceived as below standard. Much of the residents' dissatisfaction can be traced to what we have termed the miniaturization of private, shared, and public space in this neighbourhood.

SECTION 5.0 FOOTNOTES

(1) Our discussion benefits from a report reviewing the St. Lawrence Housing Project Phase 1 prepared by Kenneth Greenberg, Head of the City of Toronto's Urban Design Group to the Committee on Neighbourhoods, Housing, Fire and Legislation, Commissioner of Planning, "St. Lawrence Housing Project Phase Al Review" June 12, 1979. We are indebted to Greenberg for suggesting the term "miniaturization" to describe the problem of building at high densities while maintaining a low rise form.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., Clare Cooper. Easter Hill Village. New York: Free Press, 1975.

(4) Jan Gehl. "The Residential Street Environment". Built Environment. Vol. 6. No. 1. p. 51-61.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid., p.61.

(7) Jane Jacobs. The Death and Life of Great American Cities. New York: Random House, 1961. p. 59.

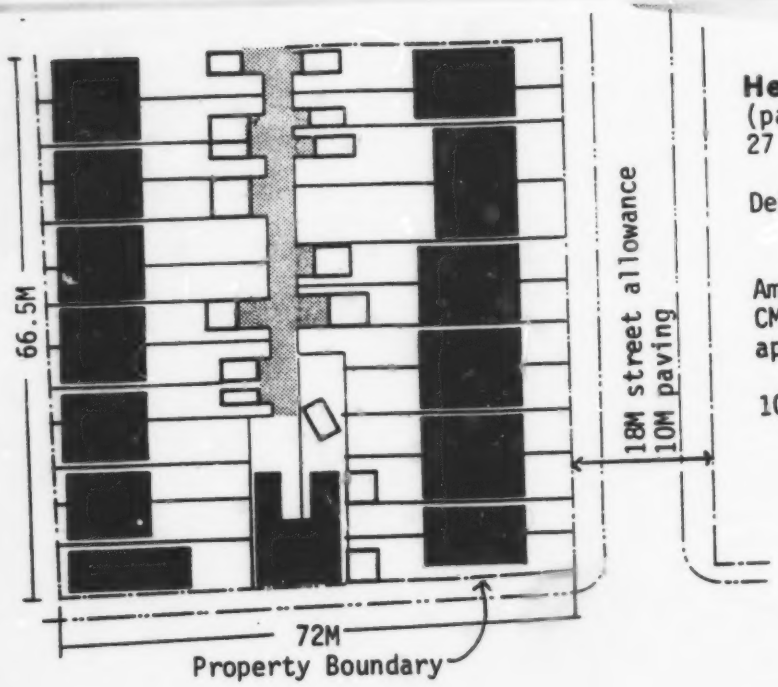
(8) Edward T. Hall. The Hidden Dimension. New York: Anchor Books. 1969. p. 123.

(9) Jacobs. op. cit. p. 87.

(10) Personal interviews.

(11) Jacqueline Leavitt. "A New American House". Women and Environments. Vol. 7, No. 1. Winter 1985. pp. 14-16.

A APPENDIX

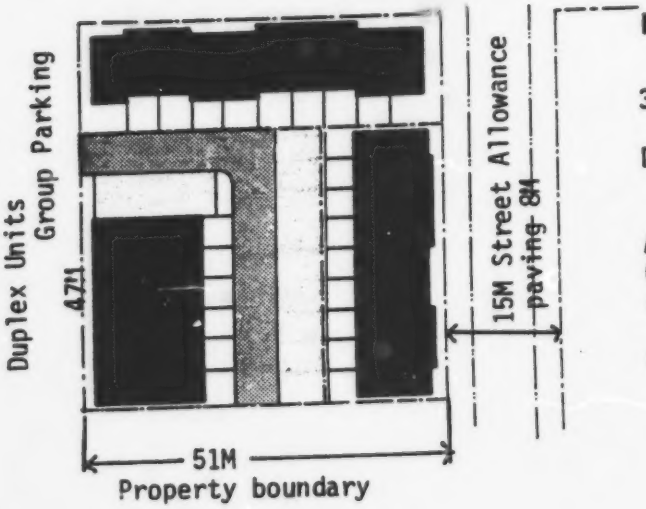


Hector Ave
(part of the block)
27 Units

Density: 56 units/hectare
27 units/acre

Amentity area exceeds CMHC minimum without applying 1/3 reduction.

100% off-street parking.



Frankel/Lambert
-Block 4c

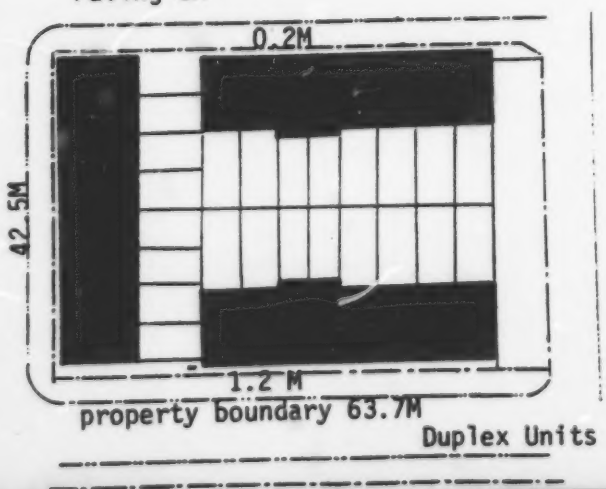
31 Units

Density: 129 units/hectare
64 units/acre

Amenity area is 45% below CMHC minimum after 1/3 reduction applied.

64.5% off-street parking.

15M street allowance
Paving 8M



St. Lawrence
- Phase B1
Block B2

24 Units
Density: 89 units/hectare
40 units/acre

Amenity area is 15% below CMHC minimum after 1/3 reduction applied.

100% off-street parking

Site Analysis

SUMMARY DATA

Information from Cityhome (1983) and CHBC (1983) internal reports

** B.R. CHBC basic requirement; 1/3 B. after 1/3 reduction, Provided, Deficiency, % Deficiency - Deficiency refers to CHBC Site Planning Standards

BLOCK	PROJECT	OWNERSHIP	SITE AREA	DENSITY	PERMITTED COVERAGE	PROJECT TYPE	NO. OF UNITS	UNIT MIX	PARKING	OPEN SPACE (CITYHOME)	** MAA (CHBC)	** OLA (CHBC)	** CHILDREN'S PLAY AREA
2, 4 5, 6	Victoria-Wood houses	Private & Cityhome (39 scattered units)	103,072 s.f. 9,575 m^2	44 units/ac 108 units/ha	Block 2- 1.3 Block 4- 1.25 Block 5- 1.2 Block 6-	Row housing	139	1 br 31 2 br 45 3 br 33 4 br 30	# spaces 119 S/V .86 defic. 42% on grade	30%	BR 9,365 m^2 1/3R 6,243 m^2 Provid. 4,474 m^2 defic. 1,769 m^2 % d. 28.3%		582.3 m^2 387.5 m^2 0 --- 100%
3	Arsuco	Co-operative	40,117 s.f. 3,727 m^2	54 units/ac 135 units/ha	1.25	Row and stacked townhousing	50	1 br 16 2 br 6 3 br 14 4 br 4	# spaces 27 (26) S/V .54 (.52) defic. 33% (35%) underground	53%	BR 2,980 m^2 1/3R 1,933 m^2 Provid. 1,762 m^2 defic. 1,933 m^2 % d. 8.9%	30 m^2 20 m^2 10 m^2 33%	95 m^2 64 m^2 31 m^2 33%
7	Prod Dowling	Co-operative	39,886 s.f. 3,636 m^2	58 units/ac 144 units/ha	1.2	Row and stacked townhousing	52	Each 4 1 br 18 2 br 10 3 br 16 4 br 4	# spaces 30 S/V .57 defic. 27% spam under decks	30%	BR 2,890 m^2 1/3R 1,900 m^2 Provid. 1,648 m^2 defic. 252 m^2 % d. 15.3%	35 m^2 32.4 m^2 --- ---	115 m^2 0 --- 100%
9, 11	Lotus	Co-operative	65,138 s.f. 6,051 m^2	53 units/ac 133 units/ha	1.2	Row and stacked townhousing	80	1 br 20 2 br 36 3 br 20 4 br 4	# spaces 37 S/V .46 defic. 42% grade and under decks	30%	BR 4,630 m^2 1/3R 3,080 m^2 Provid. 1,332 m^2 defic. 747.7 m^2 % d. 24.3%	30 m^2 19.74 m^2 10.26 m^2 34.2%	172 m^2 81 m^2 91 m^2 52%
10	Constance Hamilton	Co-operative	20,646 s.f. 1,918 m^2	66 units/ac 163 units/ha	1.25	Stacked townhousing	31	1 br 10 2 br 16 3 br 4 4 br 1 spar.	# spaces 12 S/V .39 defic. 52% on grade	30%	BR 1,930 m^2 1/3R 1,060 m^2 Provid. 880 m^2 defic. 180 m^2 % d. 17%	30 m^2 9.13 m^2 20.87 m^2 69.5%	67.5 m^2 0 --- 100%
8	470 Wallis Crescent	City of Toronto Non-Profit Housing	27,684 s.f. 2,572 m^2	113 units/ac 277 units/ha	2.0	Apartments and townhouses	70	Each 5 1 br 29 2 br 36 on grade lot	# spaces 36 S/V .51 defic. 44.3%	40%	BR 2,365 m^2 1/3R 1,767 m^2 Provid. 1,607 m^2 defic. 149.5 m^2 % d. 8.5%	30 m^2 16 m^2 14 m^2 46.6%	61 m^2 0 --- 100%
13	Lambert Court	City of Toronto Non-Profit Housing	43,110 s.f. 4,005 m^2	97 units/ac 240 units/ha	2.0	Apartments and townhouses	96	1 br 32 2 br 52 3 br 12	# spaces 38 S/V .40 defic. 51% underground	40%	BR 4,580 m^2 1/3R 3,053 m^2 Provid. 2,739 m^2 defic. 314 m^2 % d. 10.3%	30 m^2 21.9 m^2 8.11 m^2 27%	120 m^2 36 m^2 92 m^2 72%
12	West York	Private	64,125 s.f. 5,957 m^2	45 units/ac 112 units/ha	1.2	Townhousing and duplexes	66	1 br 10 2 br 4 3 br 52	# spaces 66 S/V 1.0 defic. underdeck	30%	BR 5,100 m^2 1/3R 3,400 m^2 Provid. 1,887 m^2 defic. 1,513 m^2 % d. 44%	30 m^2 23.83 m^2 6.17 m^2 20.56%	128 m^2 0 --- 100%
14	Christie Gardens Apartments and Nursing Home	Christie Street Senior Residences Inc.	89,554 m^2 8,319 m^2	140 units/ac 346 units/ha	2.0	Apartments and Nursing Units	258	Each 5 1 br 204 2 br 29	# spaces 57 S/V .33 defic. 22.9% underground and on grade	29%	BR 5,980 m^2 1/3R 3,934 m^2 Provid. 6,284 m^2 defic. --- % d. ---	30 m^2 21.7 m^2 8.3 m^2 27.66%	--- --- --- ---

SITE ANALYSIS

Hector Avenue
Analysis of part of one block
in the existing neighbourhood

27 units

Density: 56 units/hectare
27 units/acre

Amenity area exceeds CMHC
minimum without applying 1/3
reduction

100% off-street parking
from rear laneway

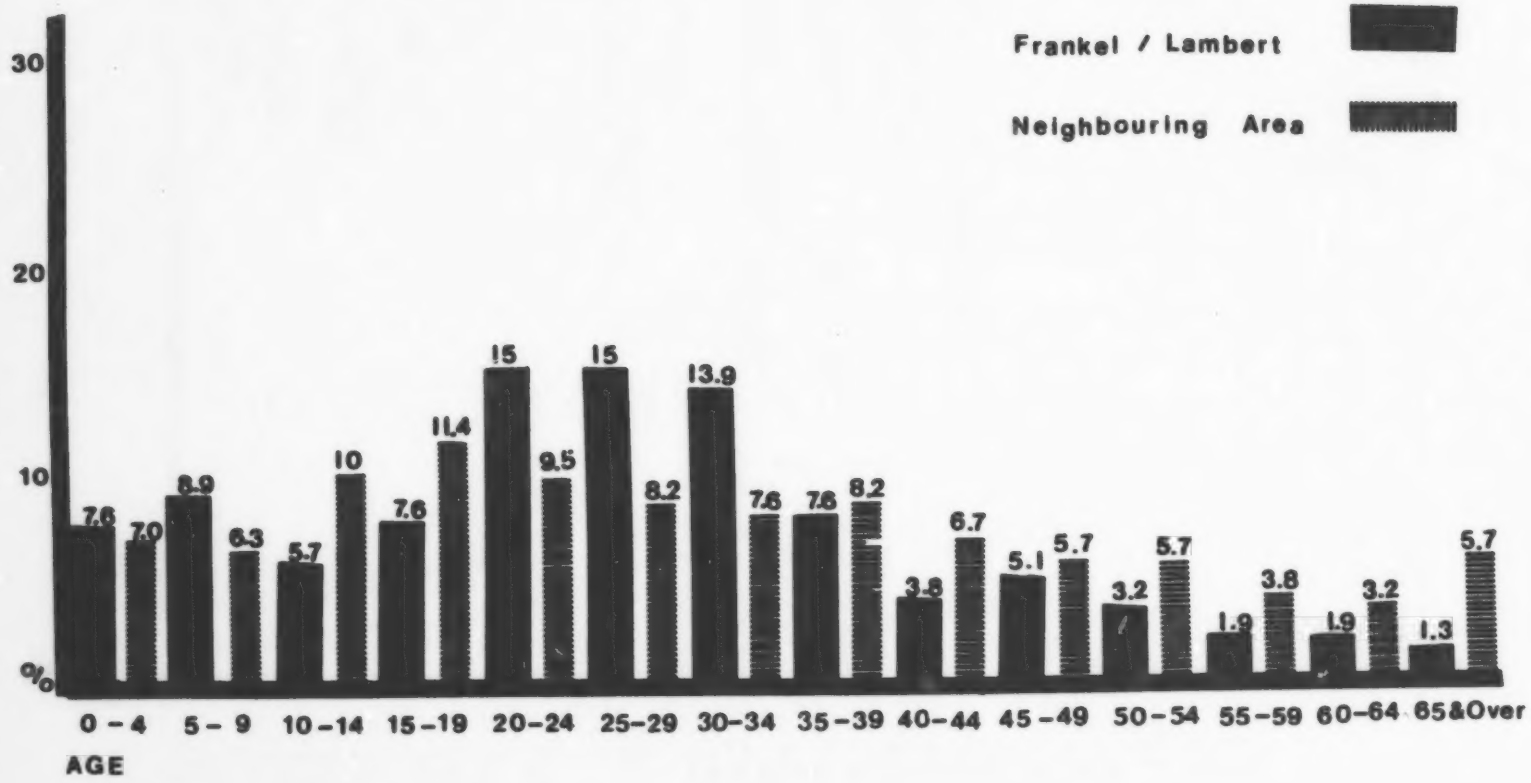
Frankel/Lambert
analysis of Block 4C in new
neighbourhood
private market development

31 units

From unpublished study,
Wazir Dayal & J. Shimwell,
Toronto, CMHC, August 1979

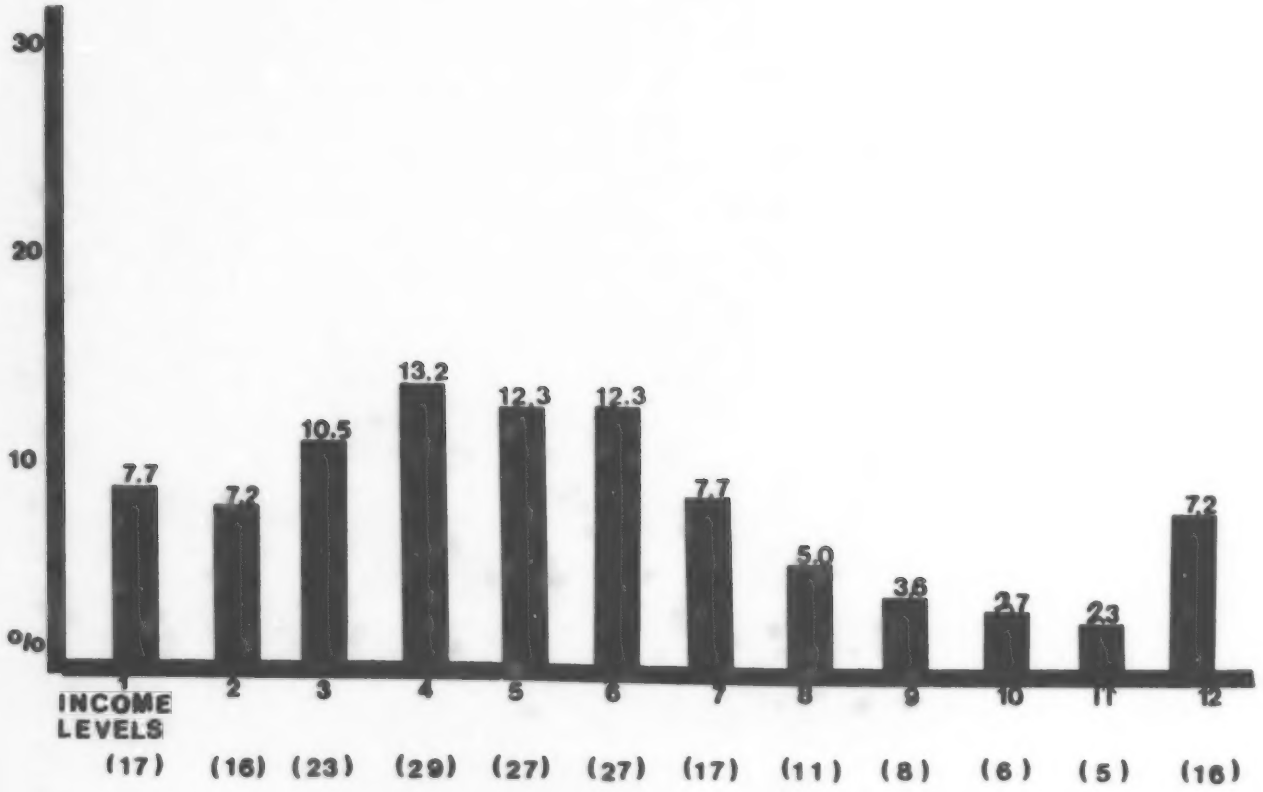
B APPENDIX

Population by Single Years of Age at Frankel/Lambert and the Neighbouring Area Fig 3.A



Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census.

Gross Household Income Distribution in Frankel/Lambert Fig3.D
(N=220)



LEGEND

1. Less than $10,000
2. $10,000 - $14,999
3. $15,000 - $19,999
4. $20,000 - $24,999
5. $25,000 - $29,999
6. $30,000 - $34,999
7. $35,000 - $39,999
8. $40,000 - $44,999
9. $45,000 - $49,999
10. $50,000 - $54,999
11. $55,000 - $59,999
12. $60,000 & Over

Source: City of Toronto Housing Department Survey of Frankel/Lambert, July 1983

Table 3-A

Age distribution of the rent-geared-to-income Cityhome residents based on a 396 person sample and showing the relationship to these age categories for the city as a whole.

	Total	0-19 yrs	20-24 yrs	35-64 yrs	65 & over
Cityhome Sample Population Frankel/Lambert[1]	100%	32%	31%	36%	1%
City of Toronto Population[2]	100	23	31	33	13

Source: Cityhome Rent-Geared-to-Income Application File as at Dec. 5, 1983.

1 Based on a 72% sample.
2 Based on a 1981 Census.

Table 3-B

Private households by number of census families (Percentage)

	No Families	One Family	Two Families
Frankel/Lambert	41%	57%	2%
Neighbouring Area	15	73	12

Definitions: Statistics Canada

Private households: refers to a person or group of persons (other than foreign residents) who occupy a private dwelling and don not have a usual place of residence elsewhere in Canada.

Census Family: Refers to a husband and wife (with or without children who have never married, regardless of age), or a lone parent of any marital status, with one or more choldren who have never married regardless of age, living in the same dwelling. For census purposes, persons living in a commow-law type of arrangement are considered as now married, regardless of their legal marital status; they accordingly appear as a husband-wife family in the census family tables.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census. EAH81A23 - SP35FED10EA001 & SP35FED10EA002, p. 656.

Table 3-C

Population not in families (Percentage)

Frankel/Lambert	28.4%
Neighbouring Area	12.1%

Definitions: Statistics Canada

Census Family: Refers to a husband and wife (with or without children who have never married, regardless of age), or a lone parent of any marital status, with one or more children who have never married regardless of age, living in the same dwelling. For census purposes, persons living in a common-law type of arrangement are considered as now married, regardless of their legal marital status; they accordingly appear as a husband-wife family in the census family tables.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census. EAF81A11 - SP35FED10EA001 & SP35FED10EA002, pp. 685-86.

Table 3-D

Number of Children per Household

Number of Children per Household	Percentage
No children	55.9%
1 child	25.9
2 children	12.7
3 children	4.1
4 children	1.0
5 children	0.5
	100.0%

N=220

Source: City of Toronto Housing Department Sample Survey Frankel/Lambert July 1983.

Table 3-E

Census families in private households by family structure and family type. (Percentage)

				Primary Families				Secondary Families	
	Total Families	Total Husband & Wife Families	Total Lone-Parent Families	Husband & Wife Families		Lone Parent Families			
				with additional persons in the same household	without additional persons in the same household	with additional persons in the same household	without additional persons in the same household	Husband-Wife Families	Lone Parent Families
Frankel/Lambert	100%	75.7%	24.3%	10.8%	62.2%	5.4%	16.2%	2.7%	0.0%
Neighbouring Area	100	80.0	10.0	22.5	55.0	2.5	2.5	12.5	2.5

Definitions: Statistics Canada

Census family:

Family structure:

Family type:

Primary family: Refers to the census family in which a person responsible for household payments is a member.

Secondary family: Refers to any census family in which a person responsible for household payments is not a member.

Source: Statistics Canada 1981 Census. EAF81A14, SP35FED010EA001 & SP35FED010EA002. p. 70.

Table 3-F

Household Composition

Household Composition	Households
Married/Common Law	51.0%
Extended Family	6.0
Sharing Non-Family	5.5
Sharing Siblings	0.5
Single Parent	14.0
Single	23.0
	100.0%

N=220

Source: City of Toronto Housing Department Sample Survey Frankel-Lambert July 1983.

Table 3-G

Marital Status of Households with Children

Household Composition	Percentage
Married, Common Law	63%
Single Parent	32
Female	30
Male	2
Other (extended family, brothers and sisters, etc.)	5
	100%

Source: City of Toronto Housing Department Sample Survey, Frankel Lambert, July 1983.

Table 3-H

Families in private households by family structure in Frankel/Lambert's Cityhome 'rent-geared-to-income' projects based on the RGI applicant file showing current residents as of December 5, 1983.

	Total Families	Husband & Wife Families	Lone-parent Families	Male parent	Female parent	Total
Townhouses	100%	59.1%	40.1%	9.1%	31.8%	20%
470 Melita	100	60.6	39.4	3.0	36.4	31
Lambert Court	100	83.0	17.0	0.0	17.0	49

Definitions: Statistics Canada.

Family Structure: Refers to the classification of census families into Husband-Wife Families (with or without children present) and Lone Parent Families by sex of parent.

Source: Cityhome Rent-Geared-to-Income Application File as at December 5, 1983.

Table 3-I

Average number of persons per household

FRANKEL/LAMBERT	2.6
NEIGHBOURING AREA	3.9

Definitions: Statistics Canada

Private household: Refers to a person or group of persons (other than foreign residents) who occupy a private dwelling and do not have a usual place of residence elsewhere in Canada.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census. EAH81A21 - SP35FED10EA001 & SP35FED10EA002. pp. 15574-5.

Table 3-J

Census families in private households by number of persons (Percentage) based on 1981 census.

	Number of Persons				
	2	3	4	5	6 or more
Frankel/Lambert	43%	24%	19%	8%	5%
Neighbouring Area	30	23	23	13	8

Definitions: Statistics Canada

Census family: Refers to a husband and wife (with or without children, who have never married, regardless of age), or a lone parent of any marital status, with one or more children who have never married, regardless of age living in the same dwelling. For cnesus purposes, persons living in a common-law type of arrangement are considered as now married, regardless of their legal marital status; they accordingly appear as a husband and wife family in the census family tables.

Private households: Refers to a person or group of persons (other than foreign residents) who occupy a private dwelling and do not have a usual place of residence elsewhere in Canada.

* discrepancies in % total is due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census. EAF81A11 - SP35FD10EA001 & SP35FED10EA002. pp. 685-86.

Table 3-K

Private households by number of persons per household.

	Total Private Households	1 Person	2 Persons	3 Persons	4 Persons	5 Persons	6 Persons	7 Persons	8 Persons	9 or more Persons
FRANKEL/LAMBERT	100%	26.2%	32.8%	19.7%	13.1%	4.9%	3.3%	1.6%	0.0%	1.6%
NEIGHBOURING AREA	100	7.5	20.0	22.5	20.0	15.0	7.5	5.0	2.5	2.5

Source: 1981 Census

Table 3-L

Household size by project for Frankel/Lambert's Cityhome "rent-geared-to-income" projects (Based on a 72% sample)

	Total Households in sample	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8+
Total Cityhome RGI Sample Population	100.0%	19.7%	36.1%	15.6%	17.7%	8.2%	2.0%	0.0%	0.7%
Townhouses	20.4	4.8	4.1	0.7	2.7	5.4	2.0	0.0	0.7
470 Melita	32.7	8.2	17.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Lambert Court	46.9	6.8	15.0	10.2	12.2	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0

Definitions (from Statistics Canada, 1981 Census definition):
Household Size: Number of persons in a private household.
Private Household: A person or a group of person (other than foreign residents) who occupy a private dwelling and do not have a usual place of residence elsewhere in Canada.

Source: Cityhome Rent-Geared-to-Income Application File as at December 5, 1983.

Table 3-N

Private households by sex of family maintainer showing marital status

	Total	Single-Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Separated
FRANKEL/LAMBERT						
Total	100.0%	32.8%	47.5%	3.3%	4.9%	9.8%
Male	59.0*	13.1	39.3	0.0	1.6*	3.3*
Female	42.6*	19.7	8.2	1.6*	4.9*	6.6*
NEIGHBOURING AREA						
Total	100.0	7.5	80.0	10.0*	2.5	2.5
Male	80.0	5.0	72.5	2.5	0.0	2.5
Female	20.0	2.5	7.5	5.0	2.5	2.5

* discrepancy in % totals is due to rounding

Definitions (from the Census Dictionary, Statistics Canada)

Private households: Refers to a person or a group of persons (other than foreign residents) who occupy a private dwelling and do not have a usual place of residence elsewhere in Canada.

Household maintainer: Refers to the person, or one of the persons, in the household who pays the rent, or the mortgage, or the taxes, or the electricity, etc., for the dwelling. If such a person is not present in the household, then Person 1 is assigned as the household maintainer.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census. EAH81A22, SP35FED010EA001 & SP35DWS010EA002. pp. 2600-2601.

Table 3-N

Population by marital status and sex (percentage)

	Total	Single-Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Separated
FRANKEL/LAMBERT						
Total	100.0%	53.0%	36.0%	2.0%	4.0%	4.0%
Male	48.0	26.0	18.0	0.0	1.0	1.0
Female	52.0	27.0	18.0	2.0	3.0	3.0
NEIGHBOURING AREA						
Total	100.0	46.0	48.0	5.0	1.0	0.5
Male	49.0	23.0	24.0	1.0	0.5	0.25
Female	51.0	22.0	24.0	4.0	0.5	0.25

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census. EAD81A21, SP35FED010EA001 & SP35FED010EA002. p. 1953.

TABLE 3-O

Frankel/Lambert Cityhome projects by percentage of private households having nonconsensus family persons as members. (Based on the RGI file dated December 1983)

	Total Households	Total households without additional persons	Total households with additional persons	With other relative	With other dependent	Other
All projects	100.0%	89.1%	10.8%	9.5%	0.7%	2.4%
Townhouses	20.4	19.0	1.4	0.7	0.7	0.0
470 Melita	32.7	28.6	4.1	3.4	0.0	0.7
Lambert Court	46.8	40.0	6.9	5.4	0.0	1.4

Source: Cityhome Rent-Geared-to-Income application file as at Dec. 5, 1983.

Table 3-P

Household Income - Frankel/Lambert

Income	Percentage of Households
under $10,000	8.4%
10-29,999	47.1
30-50,000	31.2
50,000+	13.4
	100.0%

Mean=$31,462
Median=$27,000

Source: City of Toronto Housing Department Sample Survey Frankel/Lambert July 1983.

Table 3-8

Household Incomes by Project at Frankel/Lambert

Incomes	Cityhome		Non-Profit Cooperatives				Home Ownership	
	470 Melita	Lambert Court	Fred Dowling	Arauco	Lotus	Constance Hamilton	Victoria Woods	West York
Less than $10,000	28%	21%	5%	18%	0%	13.3%	0%	0%
Less than $20,000	50	58	42	42	15	20.0	5.4	5.3
Less than $25,000	75	71	58	65	26	20.0	8.0	10.5
More than $30,000	14	17	26	29	52.9	26.4	84	79
Mean	$24,560	$18,361	$21,521	$26,662	$33,264	$24,633	$47,540	$41,263
Median	$18,000	$18,500	$20,000	$22,000	$30,000	$22,000	$38,000	$38,000

	City of Toronto 1981 Census	Frankel/Lambert Housing Dept. Survey
Mean	$25,613	$31,462
Median	$19,867	$27,000

Source: City of Toronto Housing Department Sample Survey Frankel/Lambert July 1983.

Table 3-S

Occupied private dwellings by tenure (Percentage)

	Owned	Rented
Frankel/Lambert	26%	74%
Neighbouring Area	87%	13%

Definitions: Statistics Canada

Private households: refers to a person or group of persons (other than foreign residents) who occupy a private dwelling and don not have a usual place of residence elsewhere in Canada.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census. EAW81A11 - SP35FED10EA001 & SP35FED10EA002, pp. 1955-56.

Table 3-T

Population by mother tongue (Percentage)

	English	French	German	Indian & Inuktituk	Italian	Netherlandic languages	Polish	Ukranian	Other
FRANKEL/LAMBERT	61.6%	2.5%	1.3%	0.0%	5.0%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%	27.7%
NEIGHBOURING AREA	35.0	0.6	0.6	0.0	22.8	0.0	0.0	1.3	39.2

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census. EAC81A11, SP35FED01EA001 & SP35FED01EA002. p. 1954.

C APPENDIX

FIG 4-A

THE FRANKEL · LAMBERT NEIGHBOURHOOD
master plan

Prepared by CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION

9 am – 1 pm Weekday

ACTIVITIES

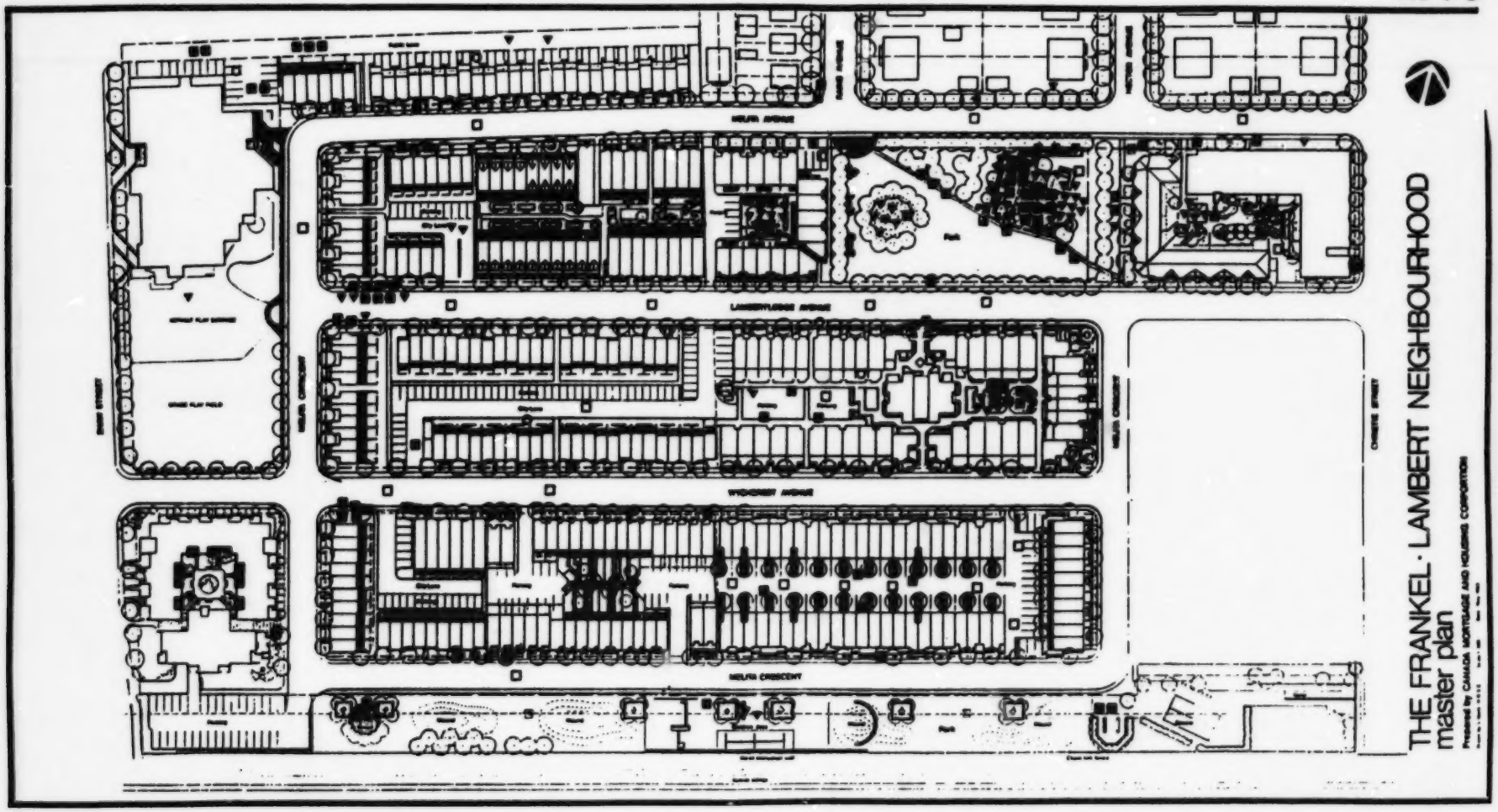
■ Stationery (Standing, Sitting)

▼ Recreation (Pedestrian)

○ Work (Maintenance, Gardening)

□ Recreation (Cycling)

FIG 4-8



■ Stationary (Standing, Sitting)

○ Work (Maintenance, Gardening)

▼ Recreation (Pedestrian)

□ Recreation (Cycling)

2 – 6 pm Weekday

ACTIVITIES

FIG 4.C

THE FRANKEL · LAMBERT NEIGHBOURHOOD
master plan

Prepared by CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION

6 - 8 pm Weekday

ACTIVITIES

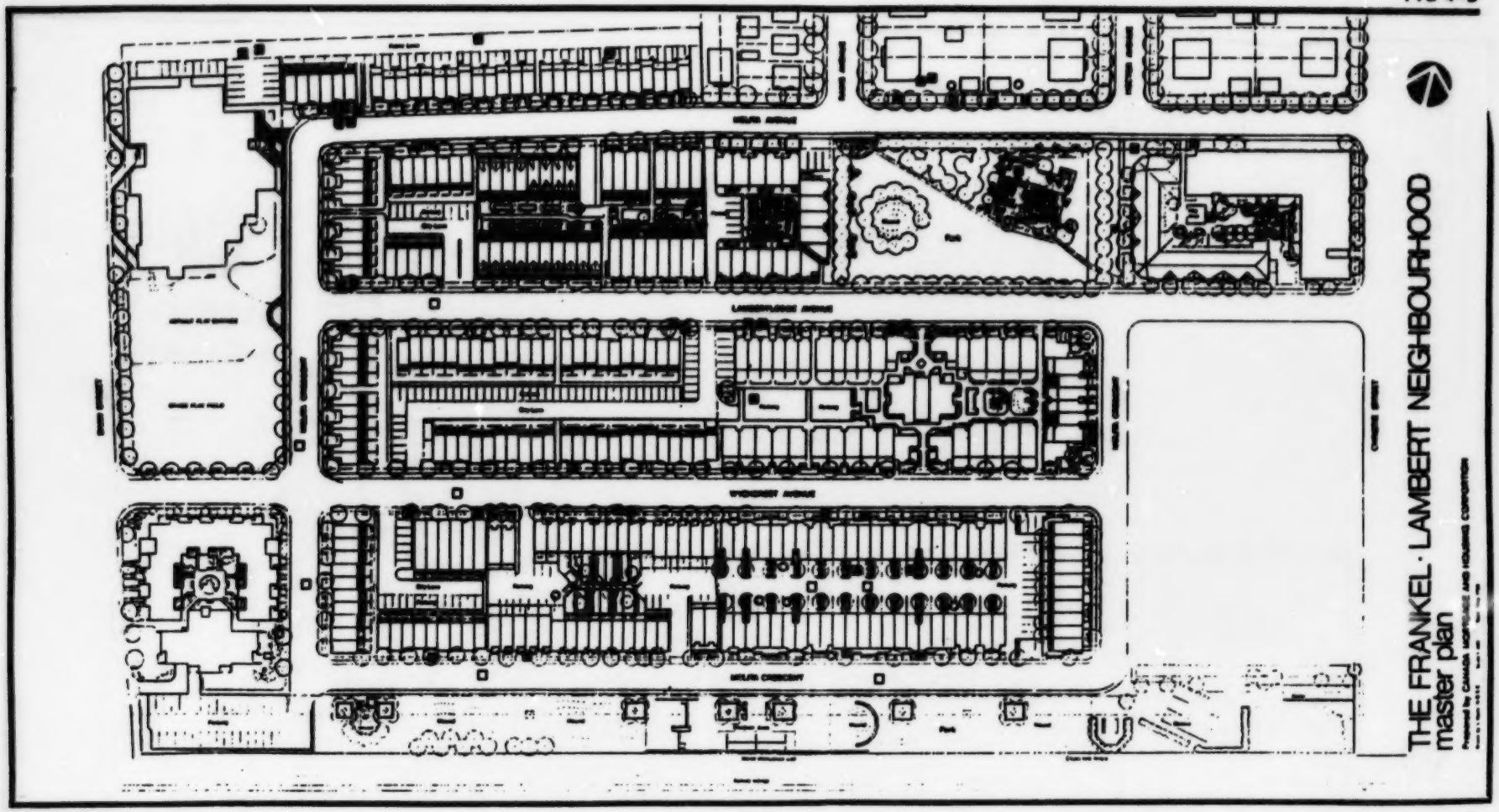
■ Stationary (Standing, Sitting)

○ Work (Maintenance, Gardening)

▼ Recreation (Pedestrian)

□ Recreation (Cycling)

FIG 4-D



THE FRANKEL · LAMBERT NEIGHBOURHOOD
master plan

■ Stationary (Standing, Sitting)

○ Work (Maintenance, Gardening)

▼ Recreation (Pedestrian)

□ Recreation (Cycling)

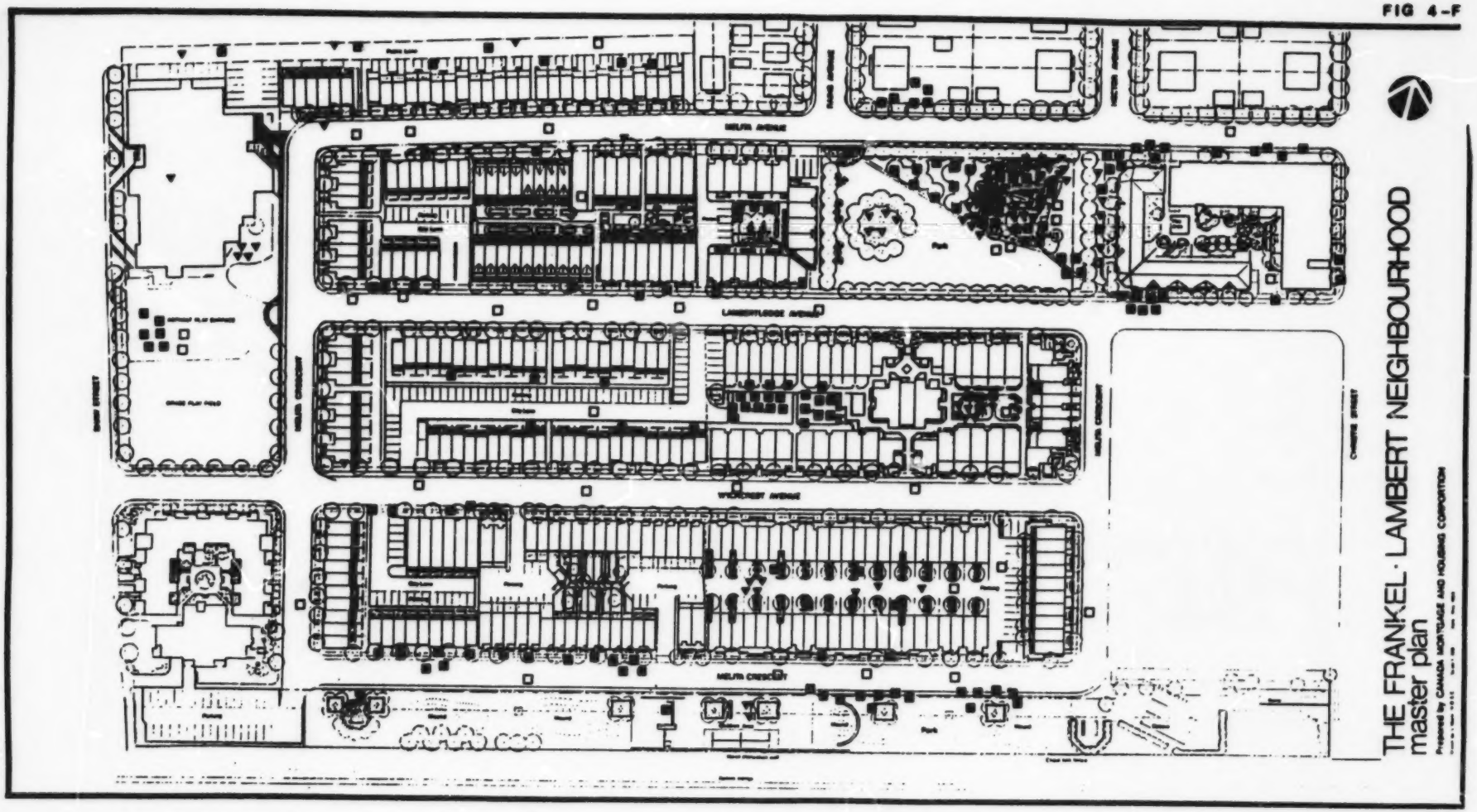
9 am – 1 pm Weekend

ACTIVITIES

FIG 4-E

THE FRANKEL · LAMBERT NEIGHBOURHOOD
master plan
Housed by CMHC (CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION)
2 -6 pm Weekend
ACTIVITIES
■ Stationary (Standing, Sitting)
▼ Recreation (Pedestrian)
○ Work (Maintenance, Gardening)
□ Recreation (Cycling)

FIG 4-F



■ Stationary (Standing, Sitting)

○ Work (Maintenance, Gardening)

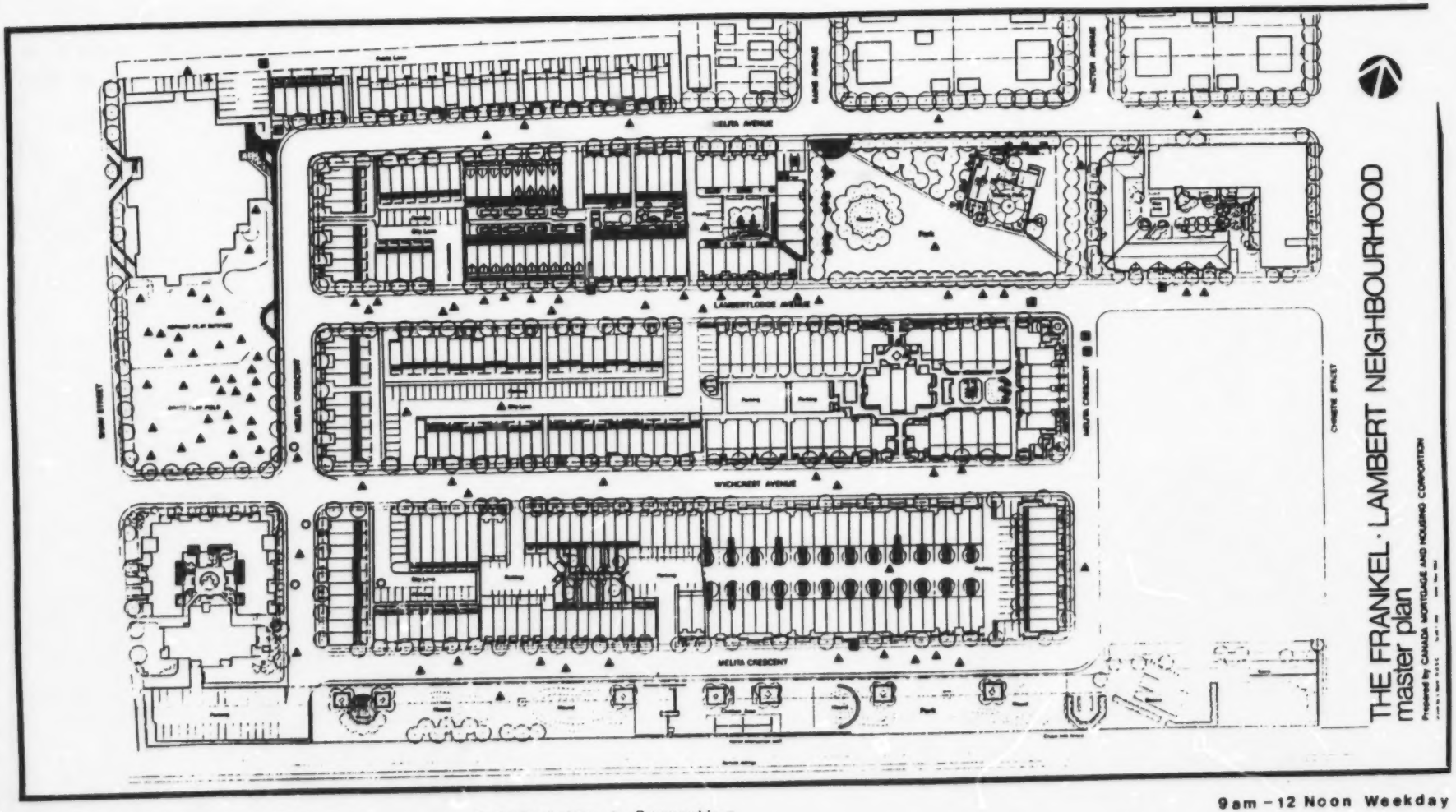
▼ Recreation (Pedestrian)

□ Recreation (Cycling)

6 – 8 pm Weekend

ACTIVITIES

FIG 4-G



■ Stationary (Standing, Sitting)

○ Work (Maintenance, Snow Removal)

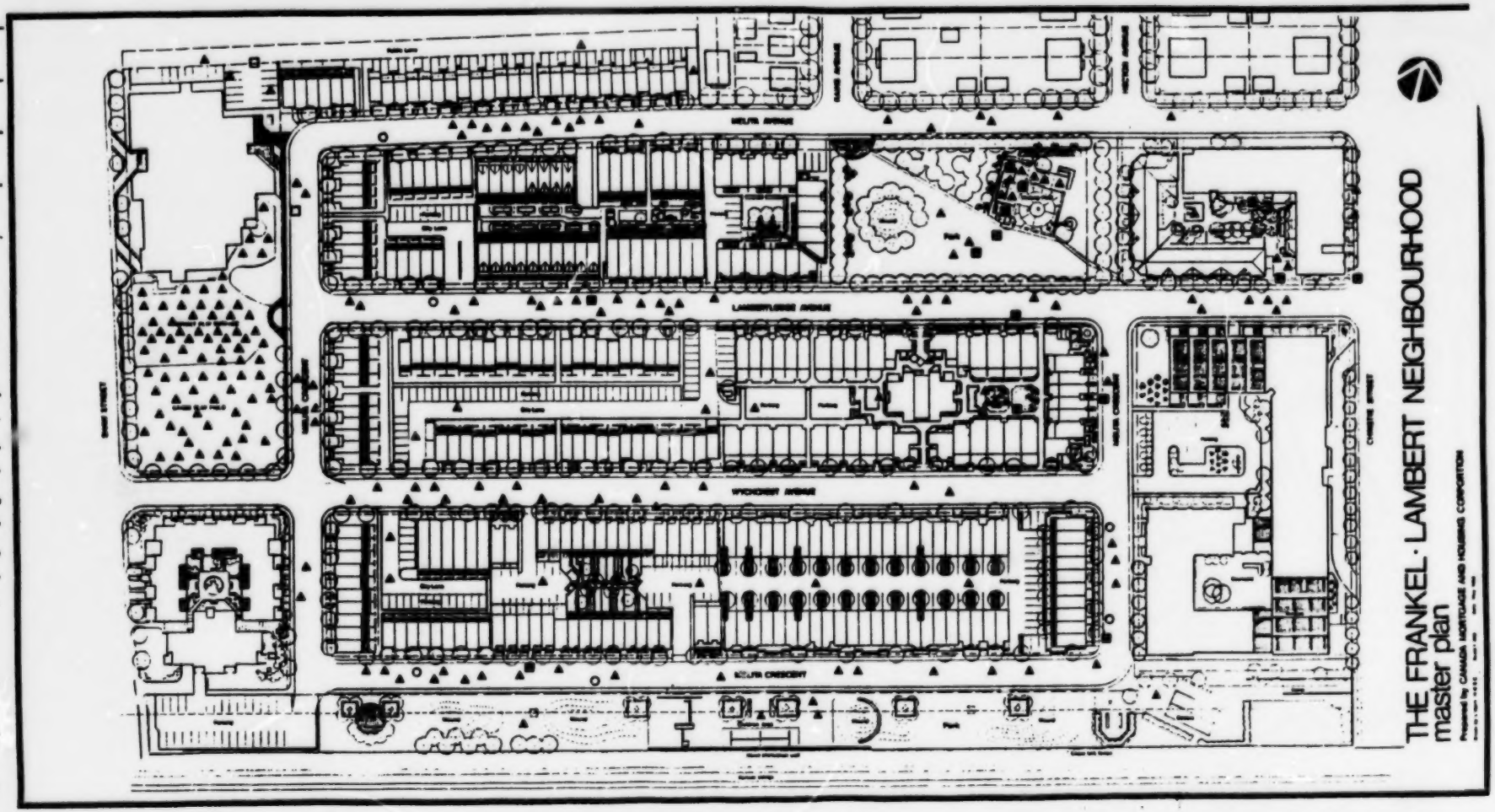
▲ Pedestrian & Recreation

□ Cycling

9am – 12 Noon Weekday

WINTER ACTIVITIES

FIG 4-N



■ Stationary (Standing, Sitting)

○ Work (Maintenance, Snow Removal)

▲ Pedestrian & Recreation

□ Cycling

1 - 5 pm Weekday.

WINTER ACTIVITIES

FIG 4-1

THE FRANKEL·LAMBERT NEIGHBOURHOOD
master plan

Prepared by CANADA MORTGAGE AND HOUSING CORPORATION

9am – 12 Noon Weekend

WINTER ACTIVITIES

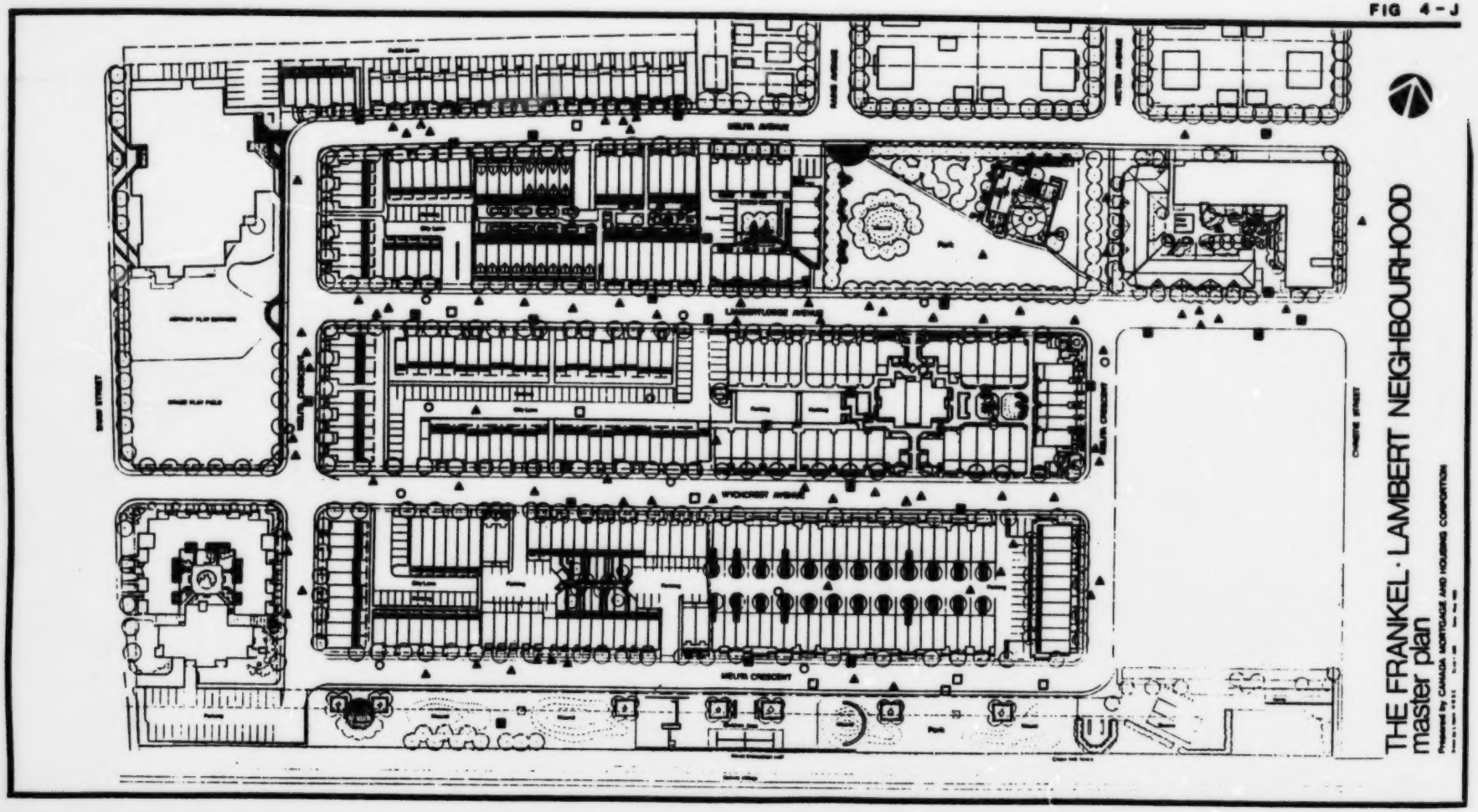
■ Stationary (Standing, Sitting)

▲ Pedestrian & Recreation

○ Work (Maintenance, Snow Removal)

□ Cycling

FIG 4-J



■ Stationary (Standing, Sitting)

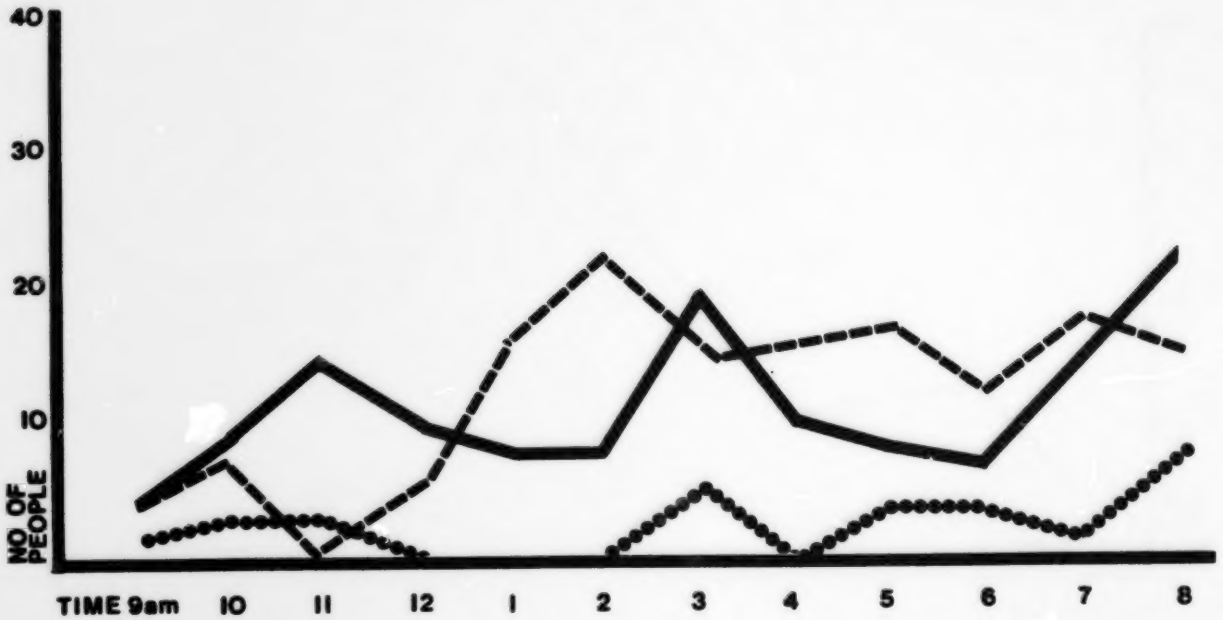
○ Work (Maintenance, Snow Removal)

▲ Pedestrian & Recreation

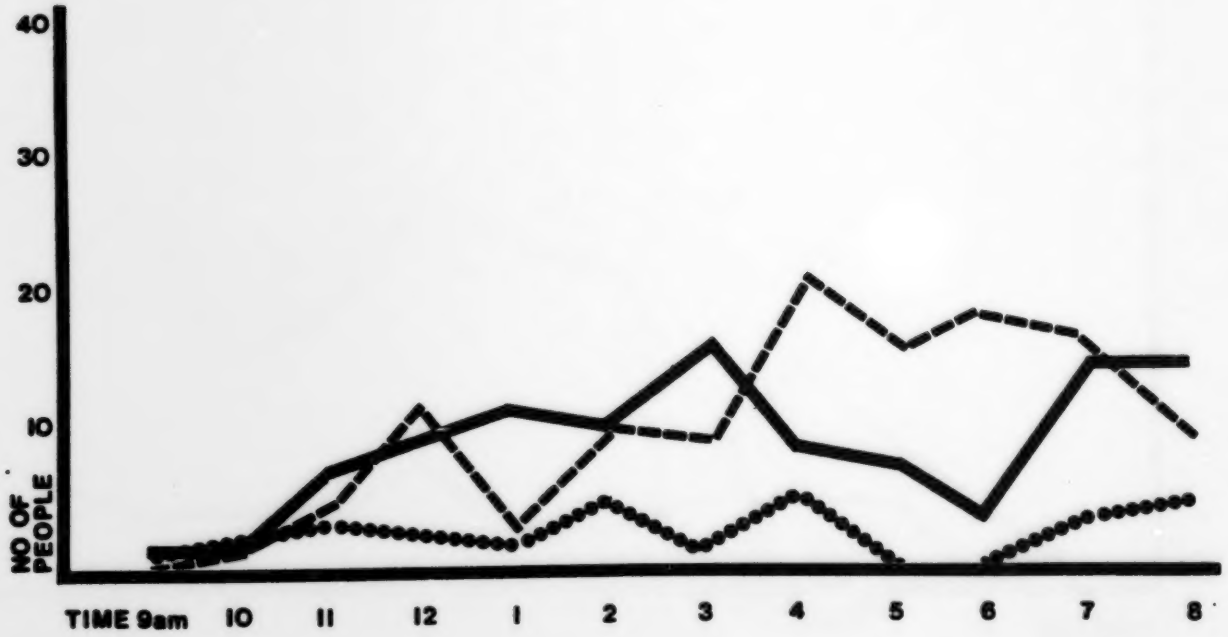
□ Cycling

1-5 pm Weekend

WINTER ACTIVITIES



WEEKDAY



WEEKEND

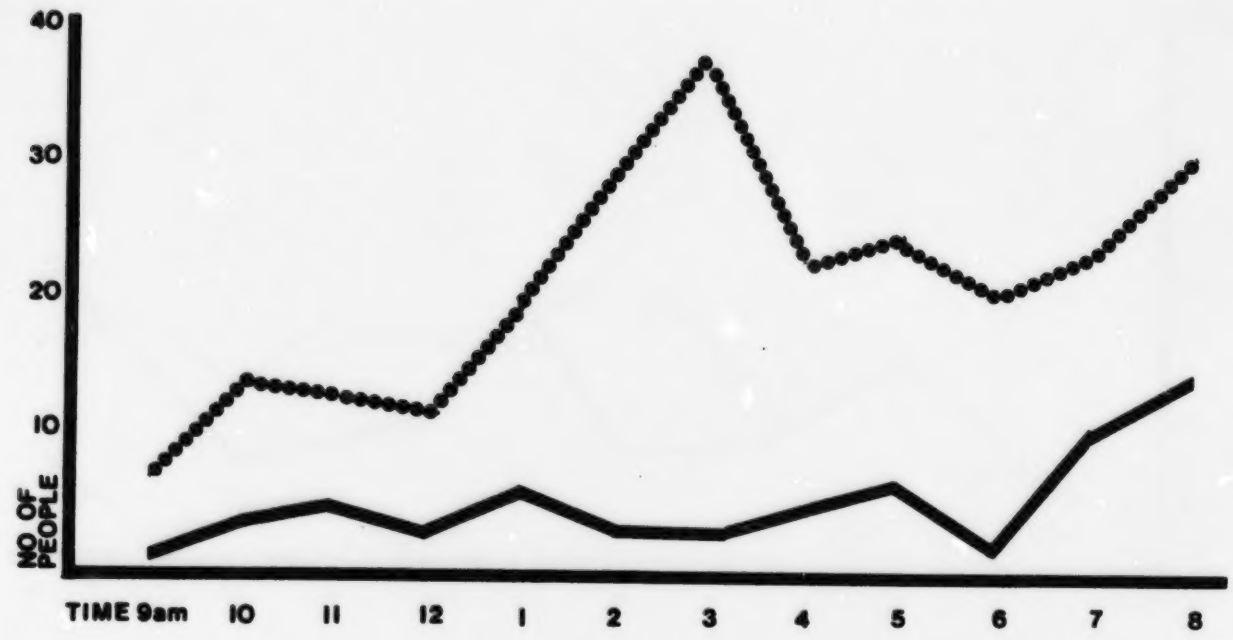
Standing, Sitting

Playing

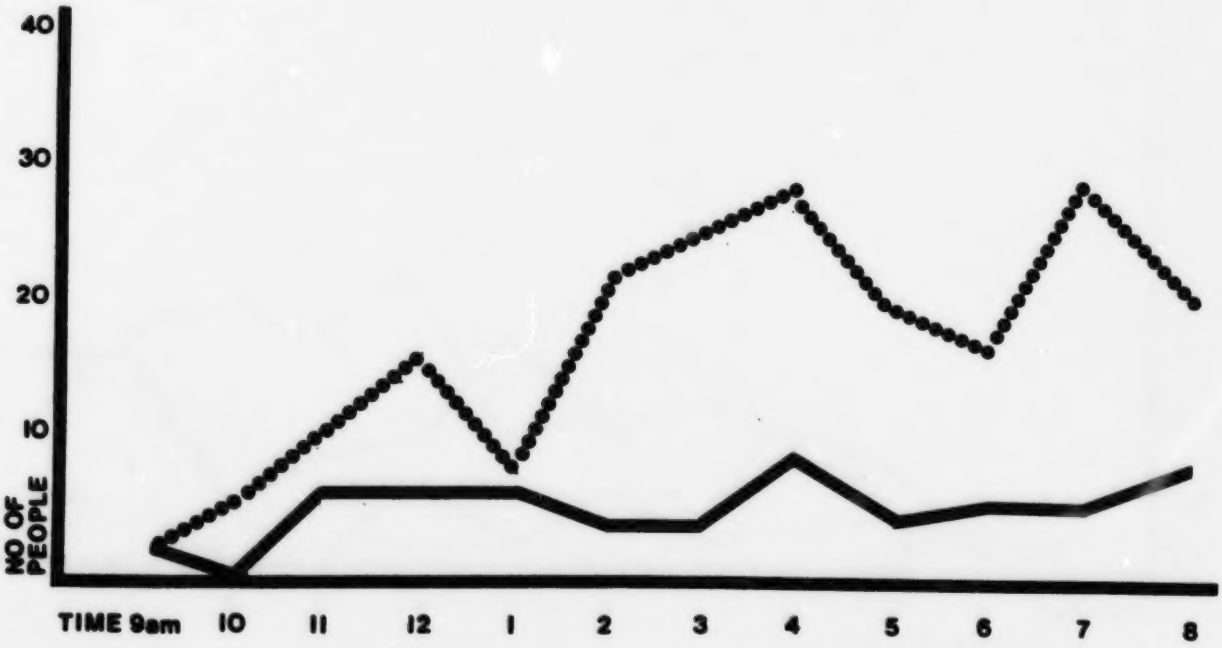
Cycling

Park

OPEN SPACE USERS



WEEKDAY



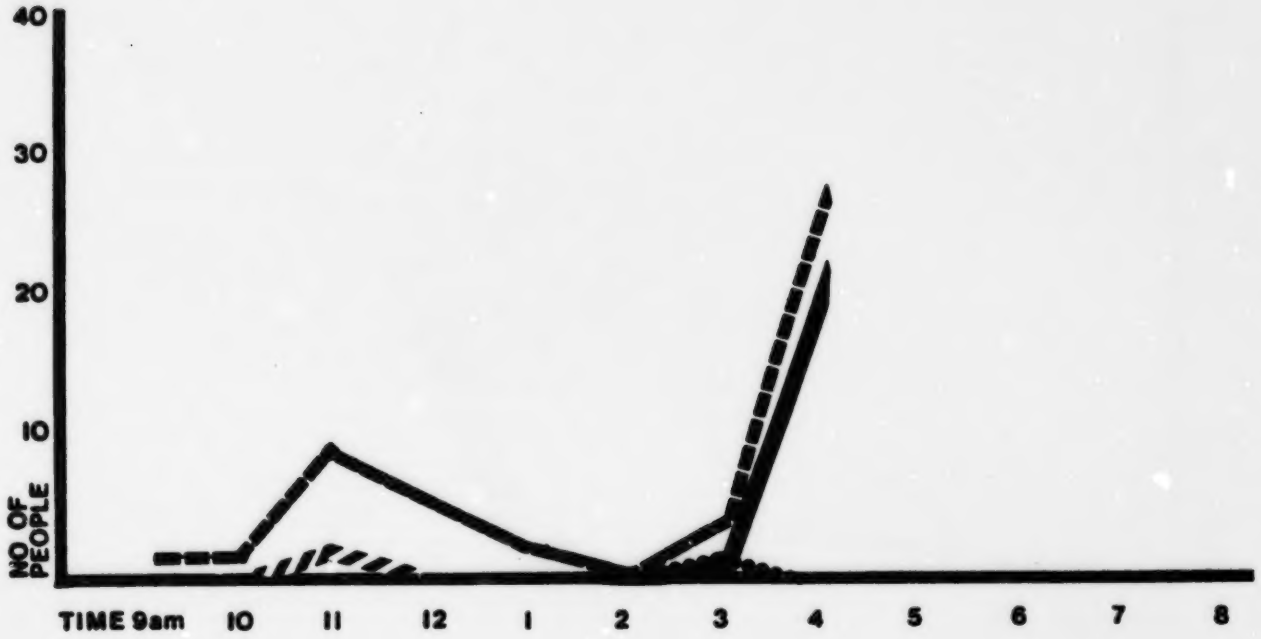
WEEKEND

Adults

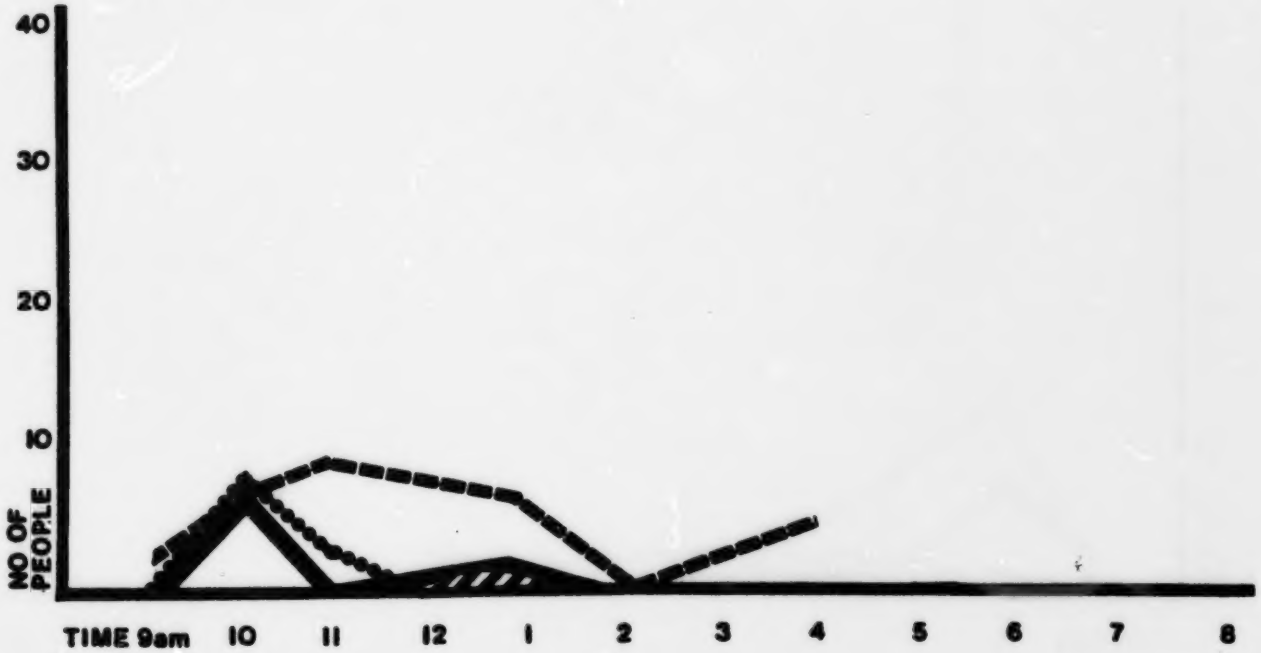
Children

Park

OPEN SPACE USERS



WEEKDAY



WEEKEND

Standing, Sitting

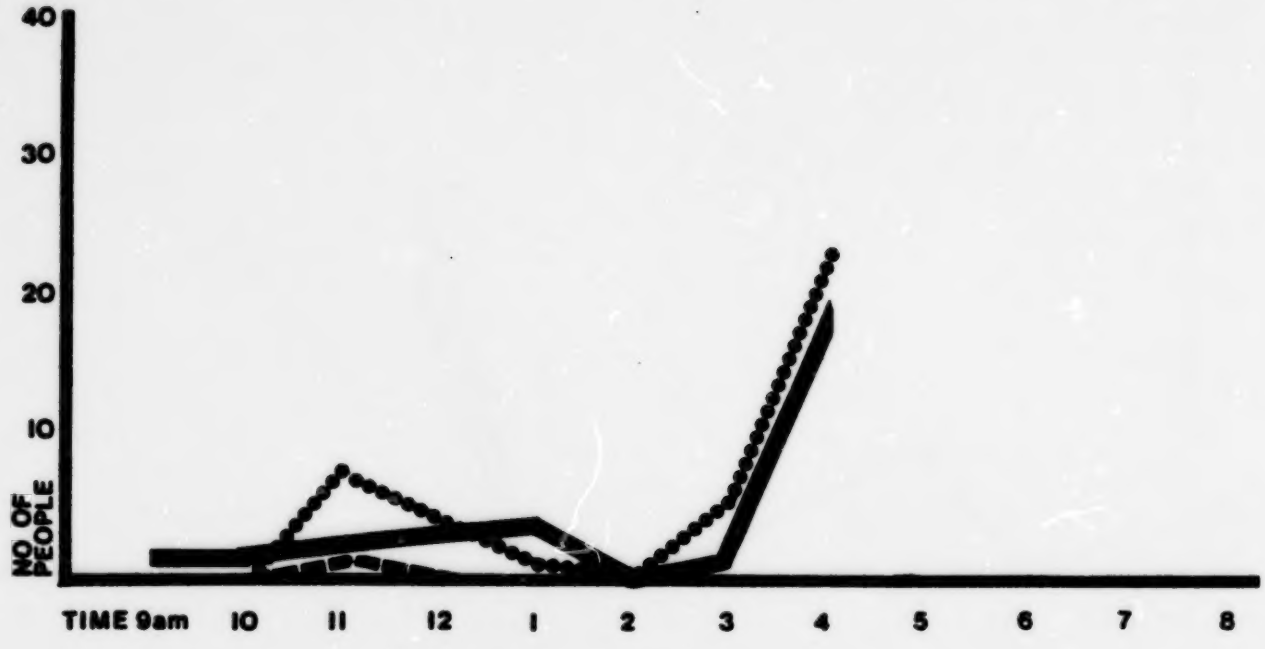
Playing

Cycling

Work

Park

WINTER OPEN SPACE USERS



WEEKDAY

WEEKEND

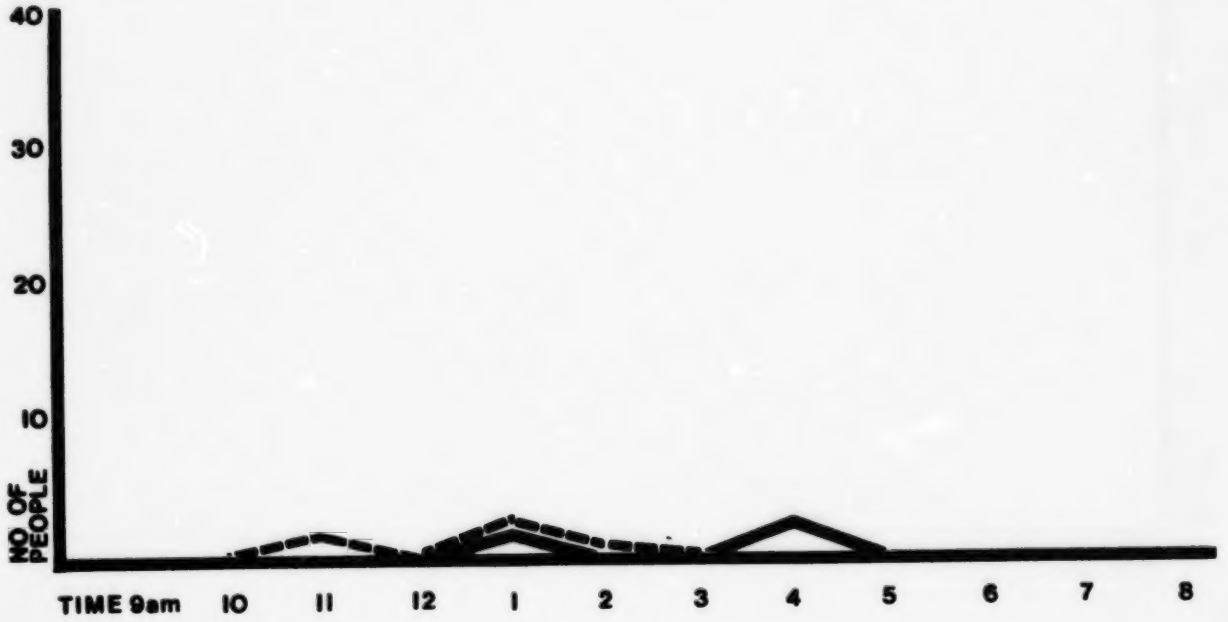
Youth

Adults

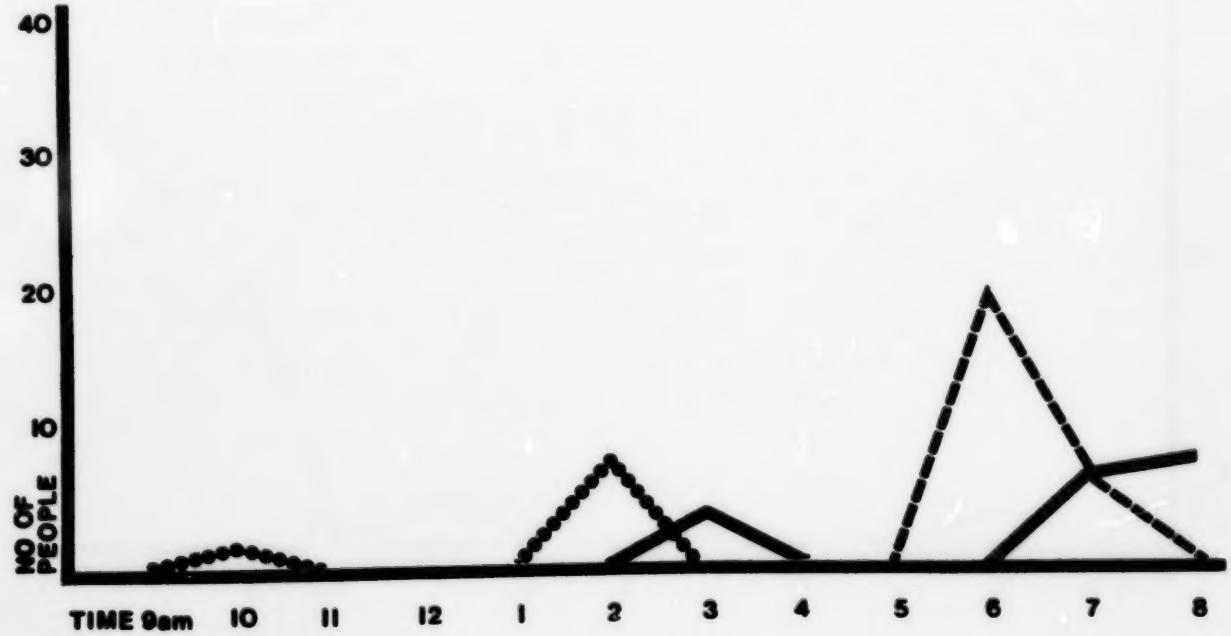
Children

Park

WINTER OPEN SPACE USERS



WEEKDAY



WEEKEND

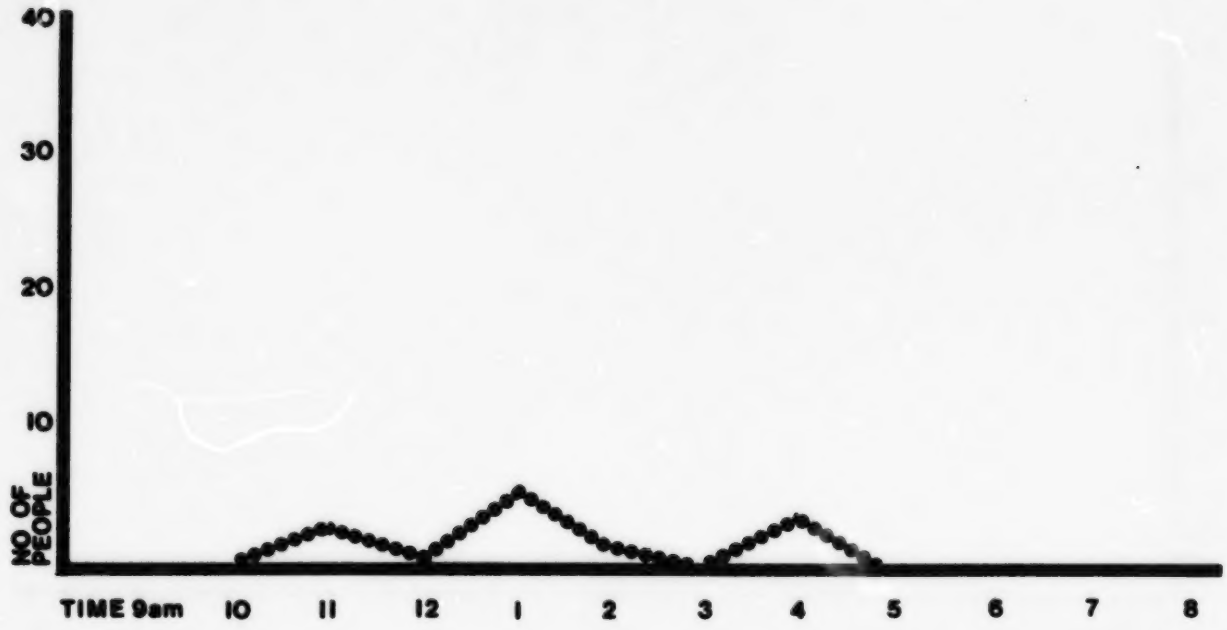
Standing, Sitting

Playing

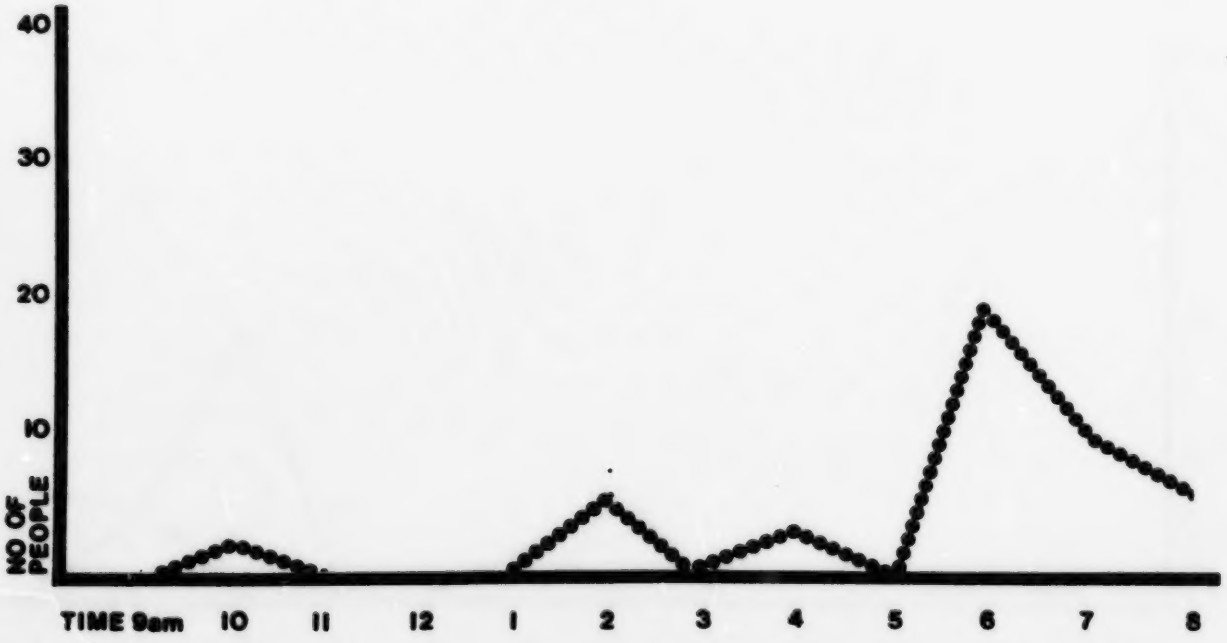
Cycling

School Yard

OPEN SPACE USERS



WEEKDAY



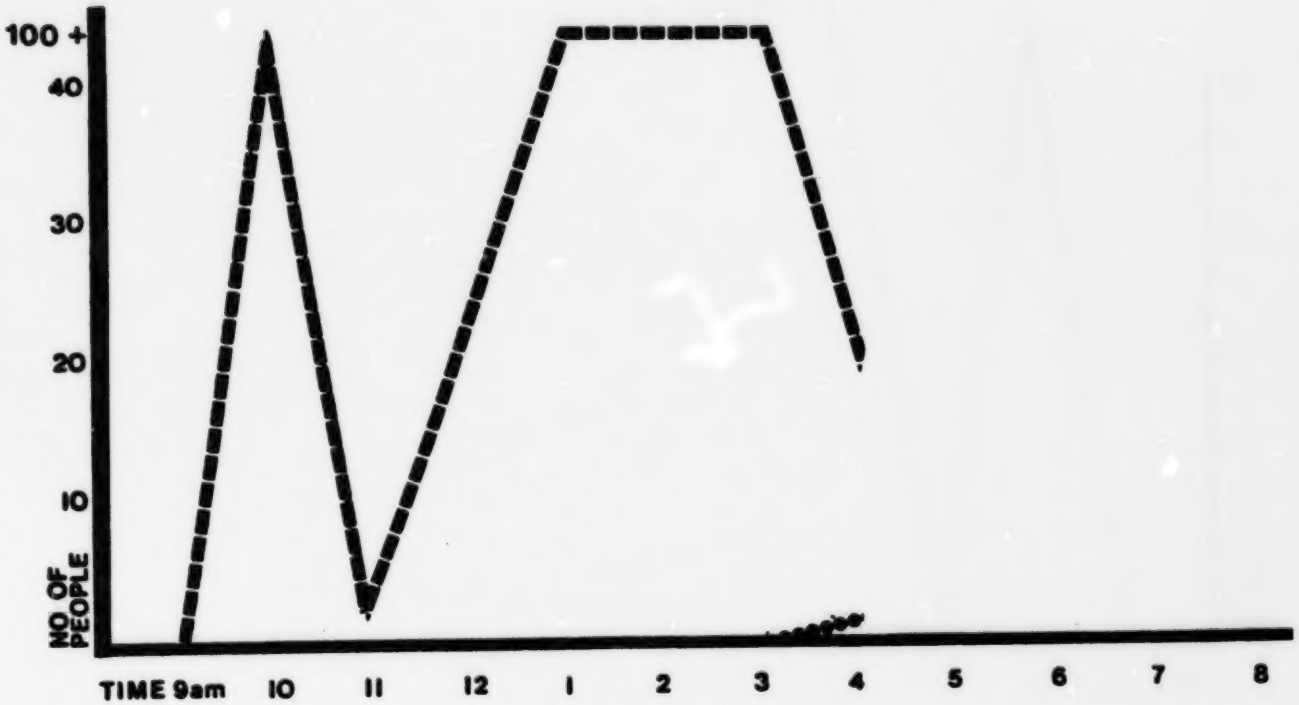
WEEKEND

Adults

Children

School Yard

OPEN SPACE USERS



WEEKDAY

WEEKEND

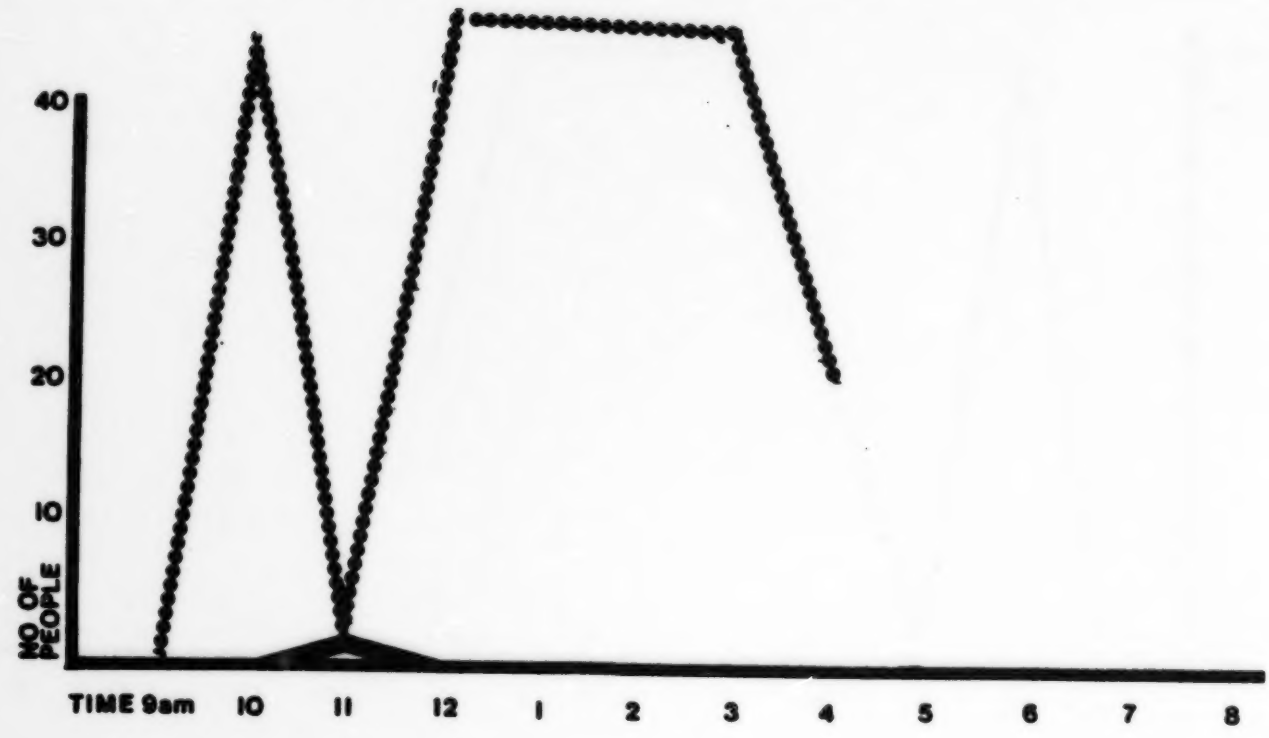
Standing, Sitting

Playing

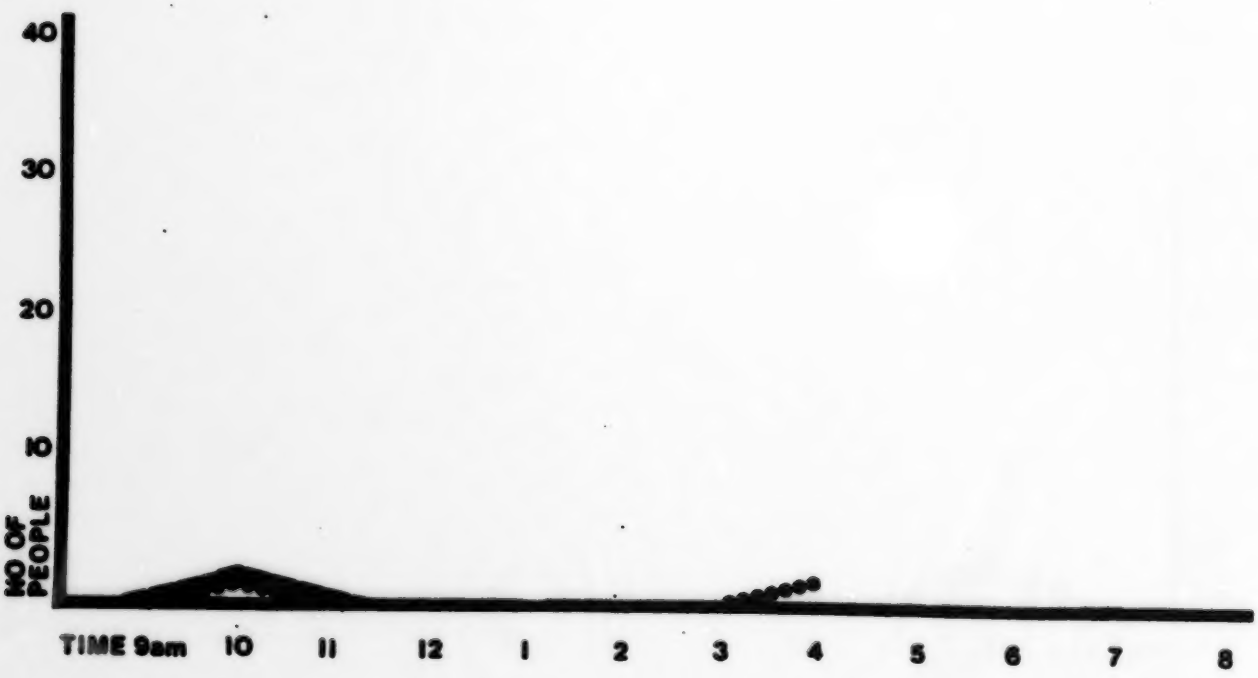
Cycling

School Yard

WINTER OPEN SPACE USERS



WEEKDAY



WEEKEND

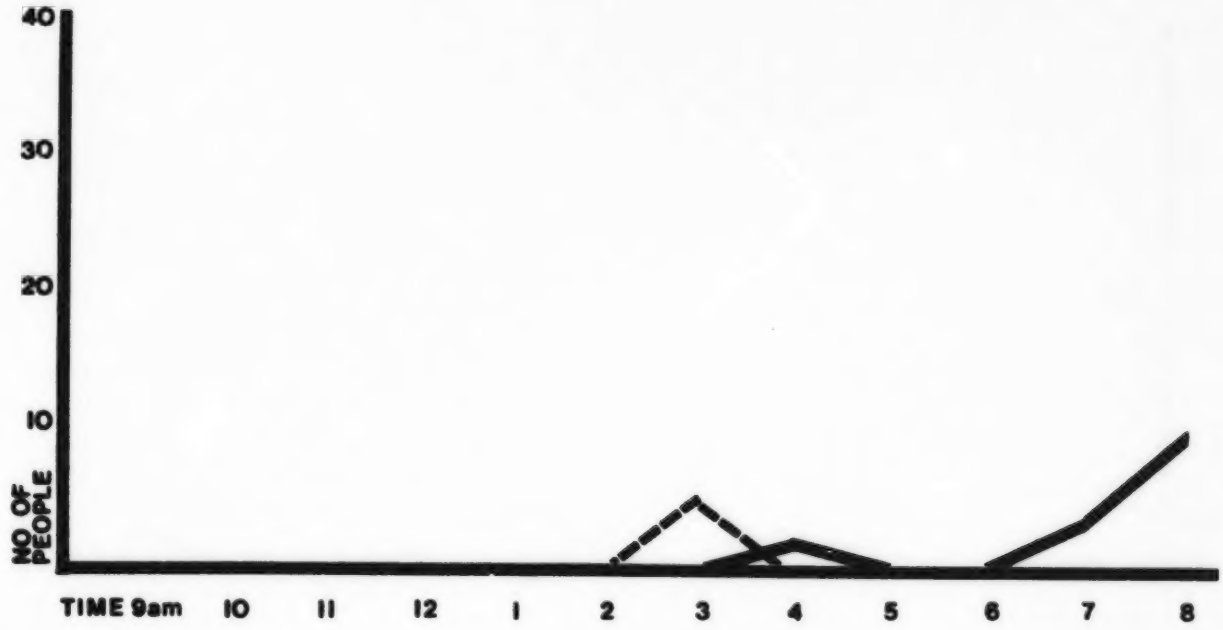
Youth

Adults

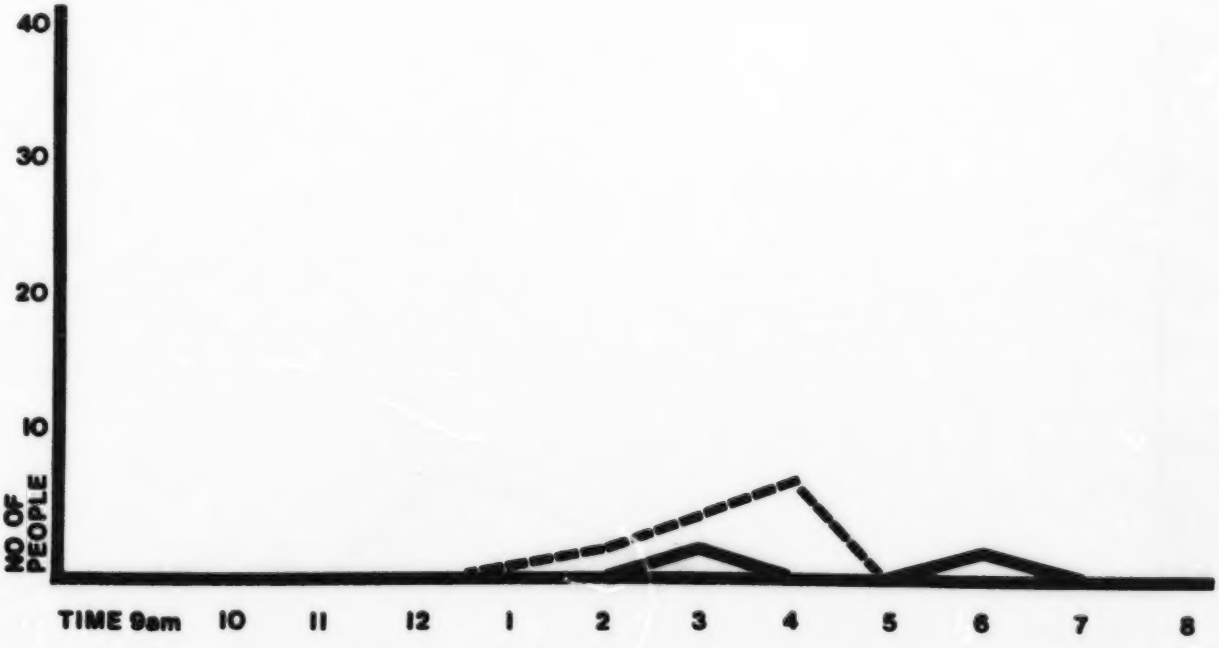
Children

School Yard

WINTER OPEN SPACE USERS



WEEKDAY



WEEKEND

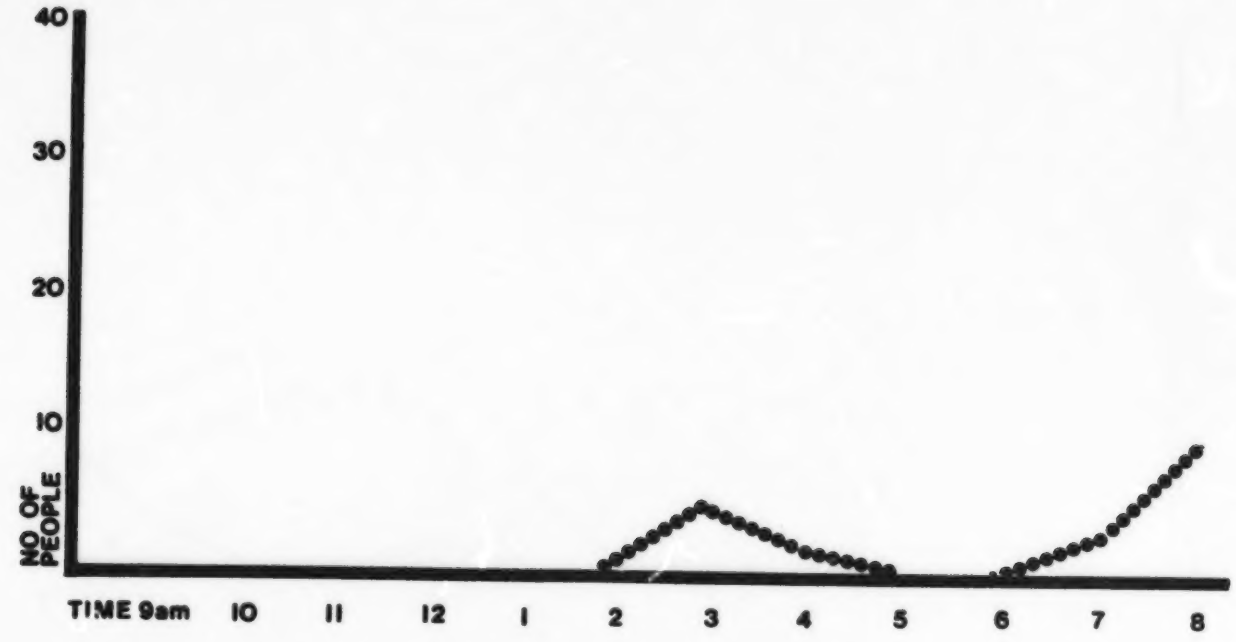
Standing, Sitting

Playing

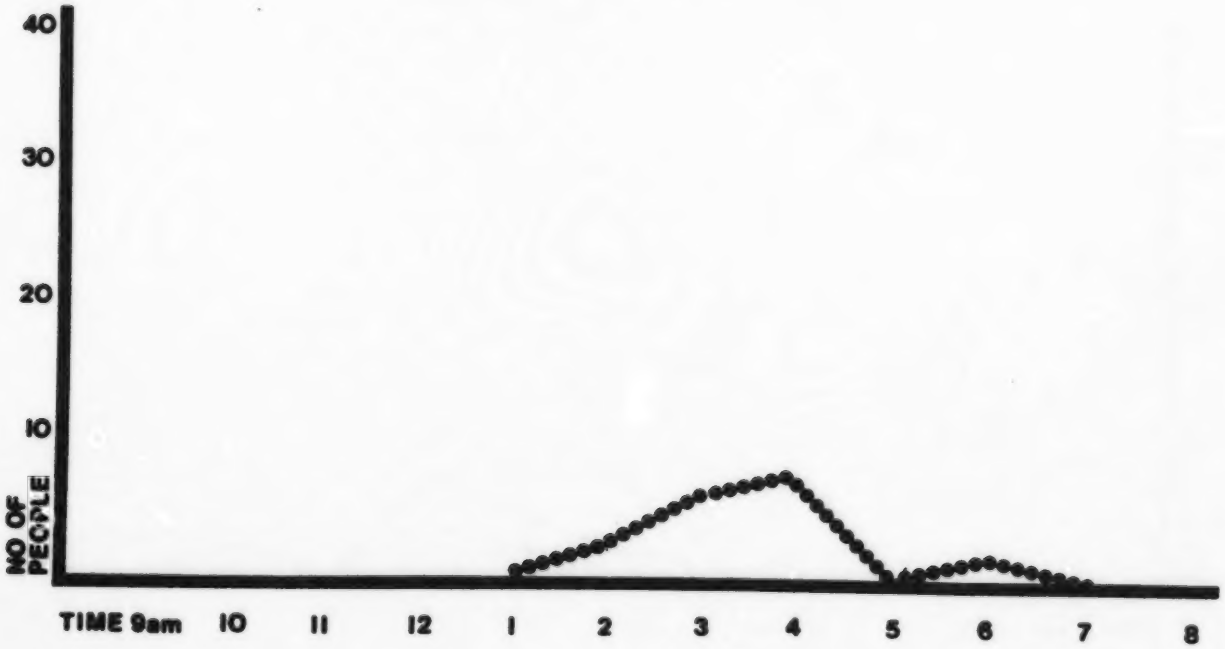
Cycling

Hydro Right-of-way

OPEN SPACE USERS



WEEKDAY



WEEKEND

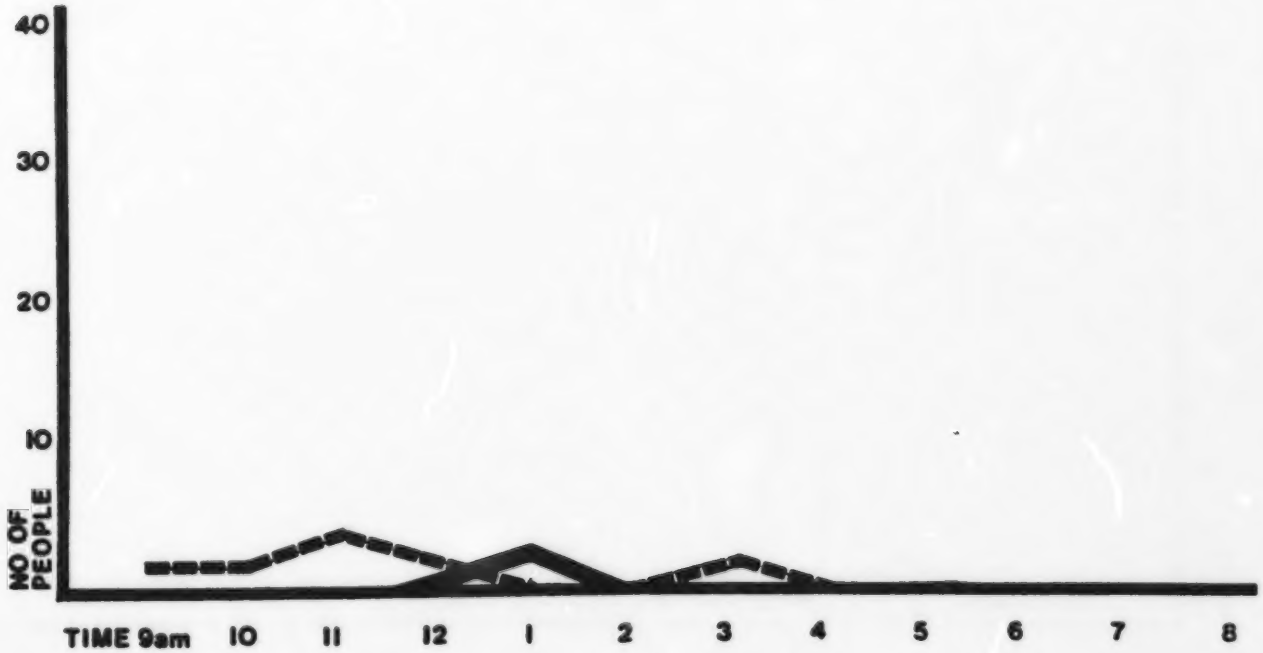
Adults

Children

Hydro Right-of-way

OPEN SPACE USERS

WEEKDAY



WEEKEND

Standing, Sitting

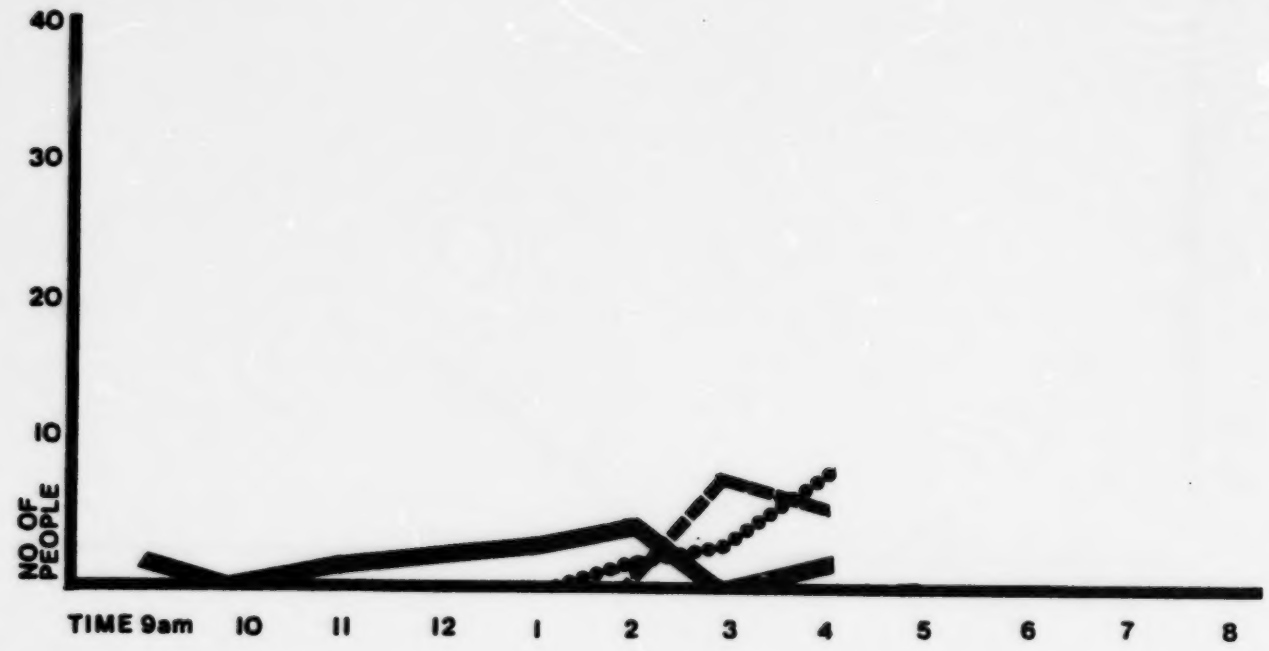
Playing

Cycling

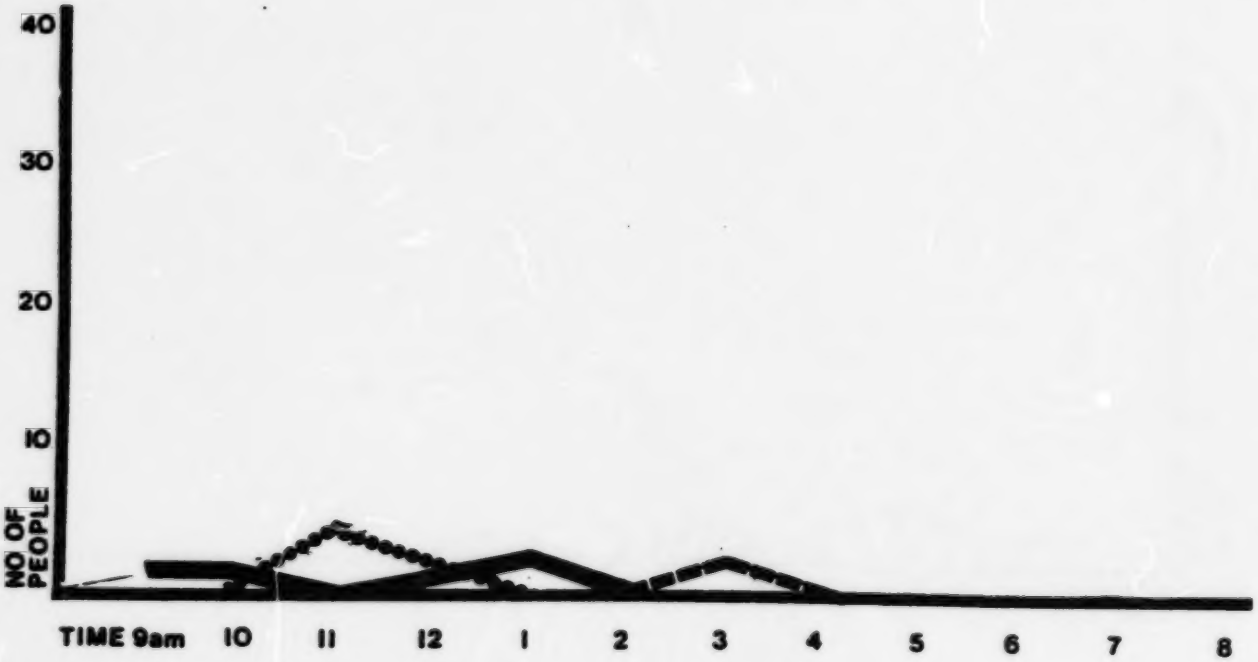
Work

Hydro Right-of-way

WINTER OPEN SPACE USERS



WEEKDAY



WEEKEND

Youth

Adults

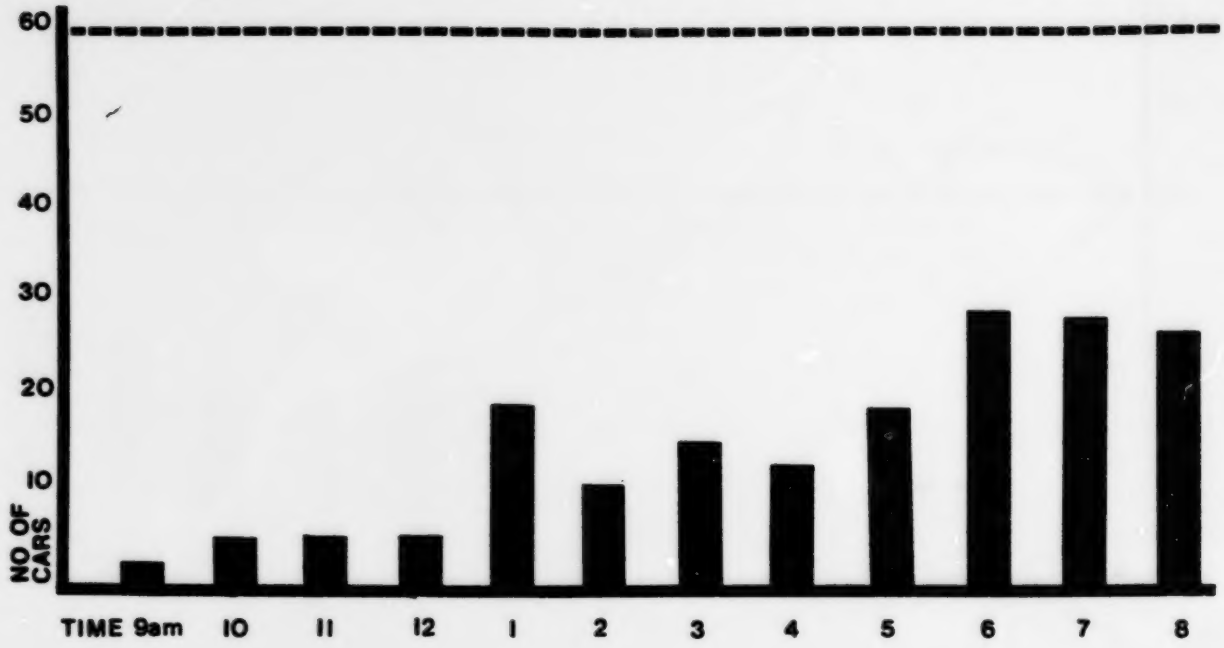
Children

Hydro Right – of – way

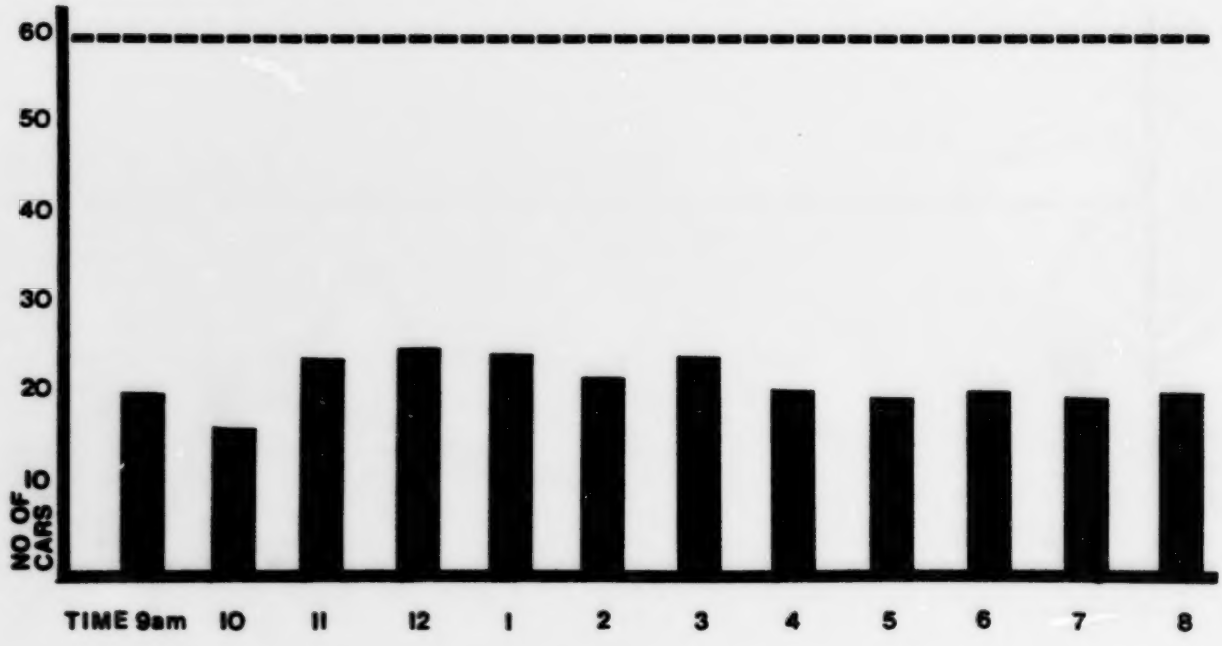
WINTER OPEN SPACE USERS

D APPENDIX

Key Location Map
PARKING



WEEKDAY



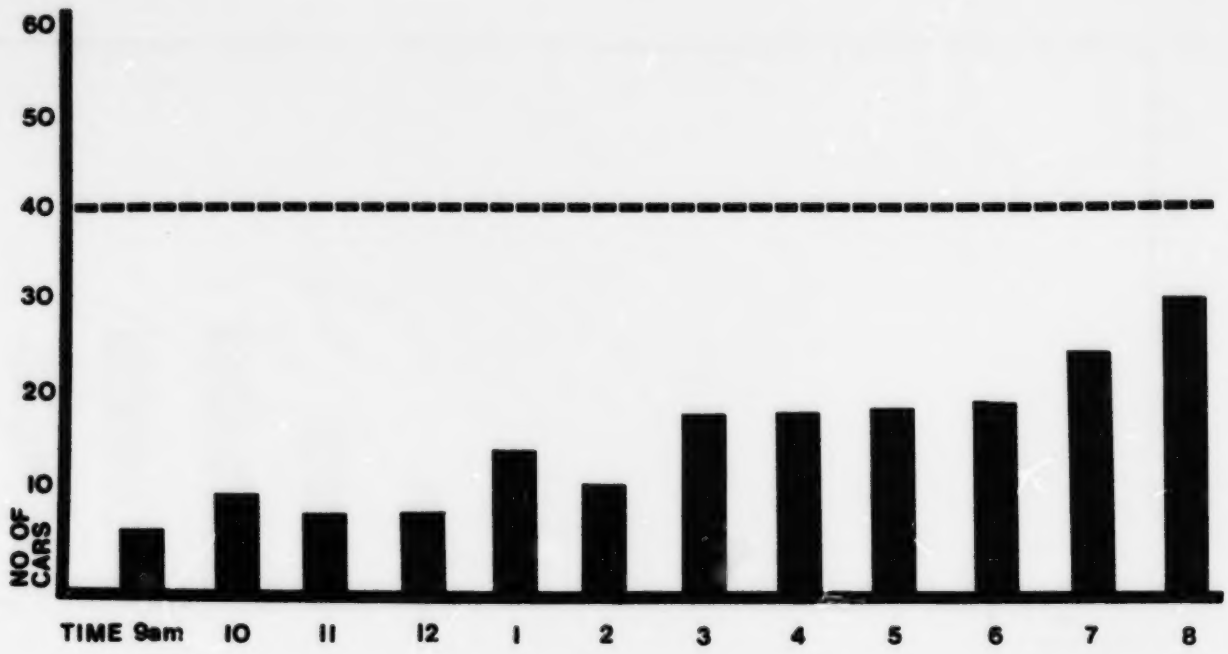
WEEKEND

Ⓐ

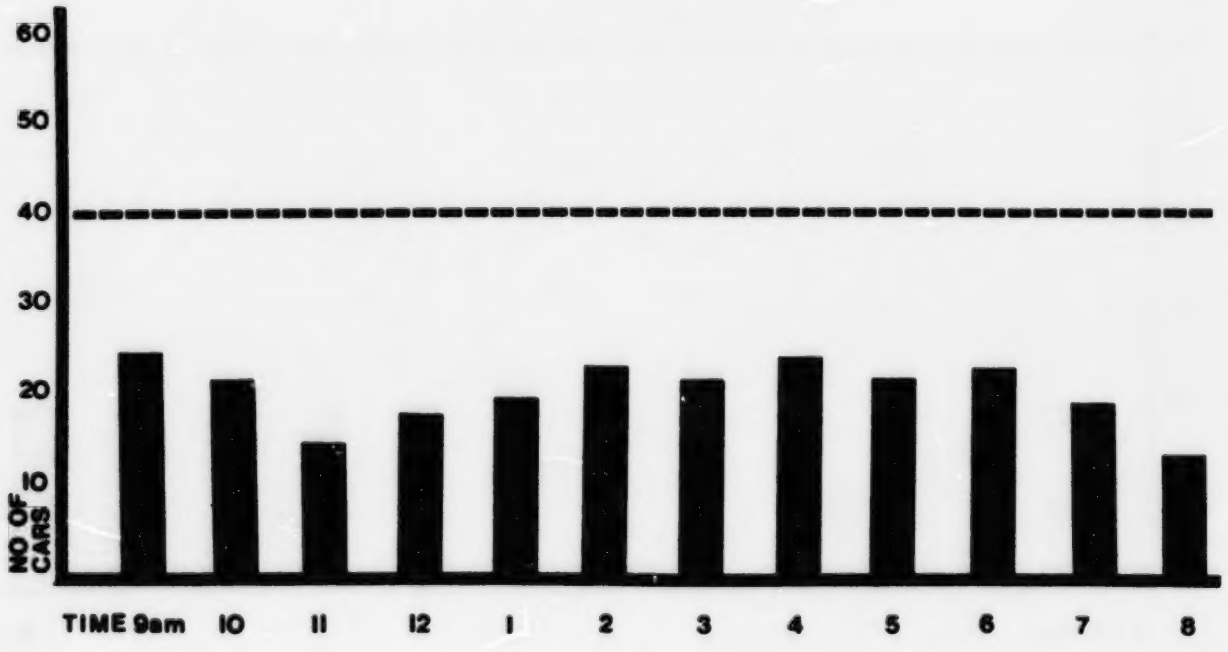
Public Lane A

PARKING

▬▬ Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



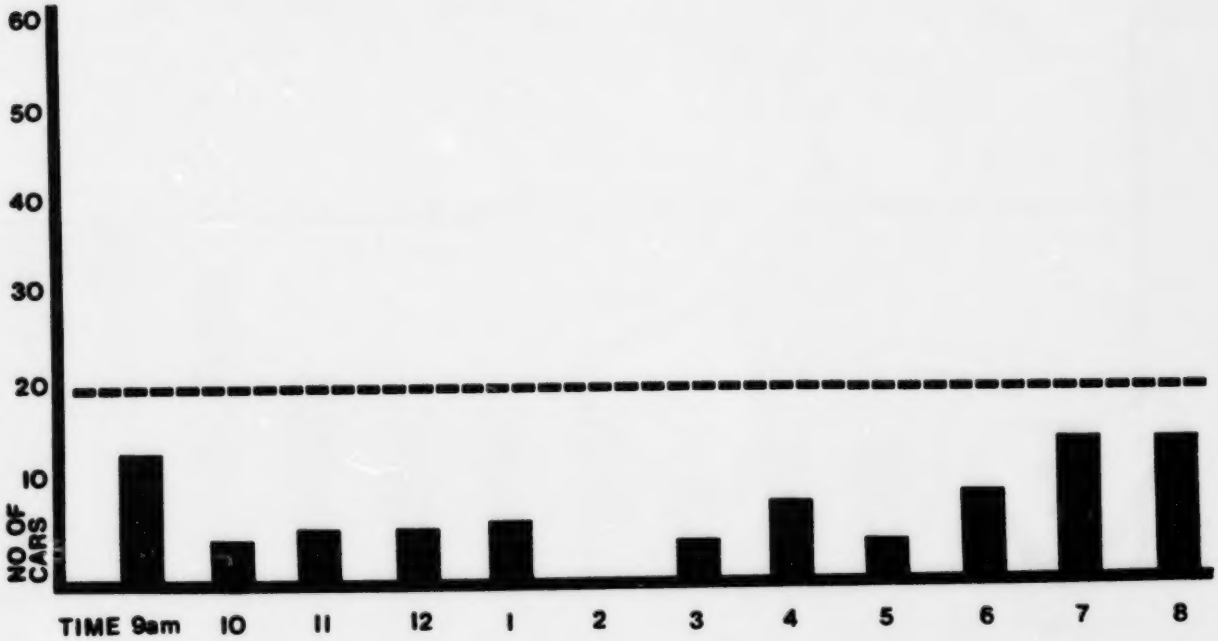
WEEKEND

(B)

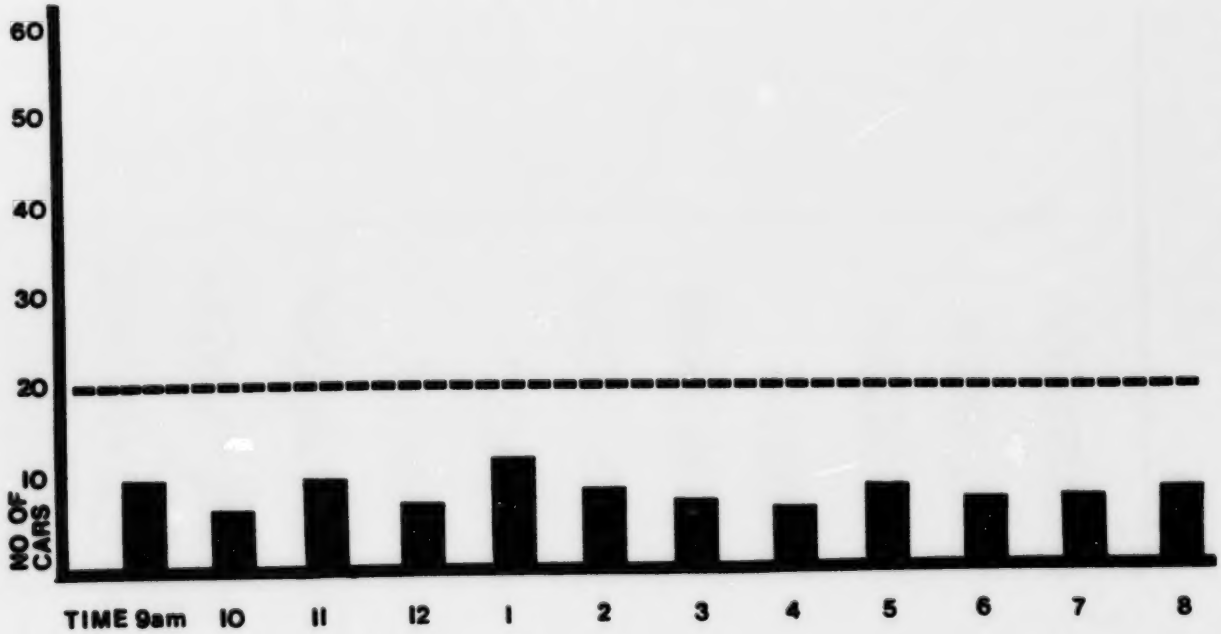
Melita Ave.

PARKING

Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



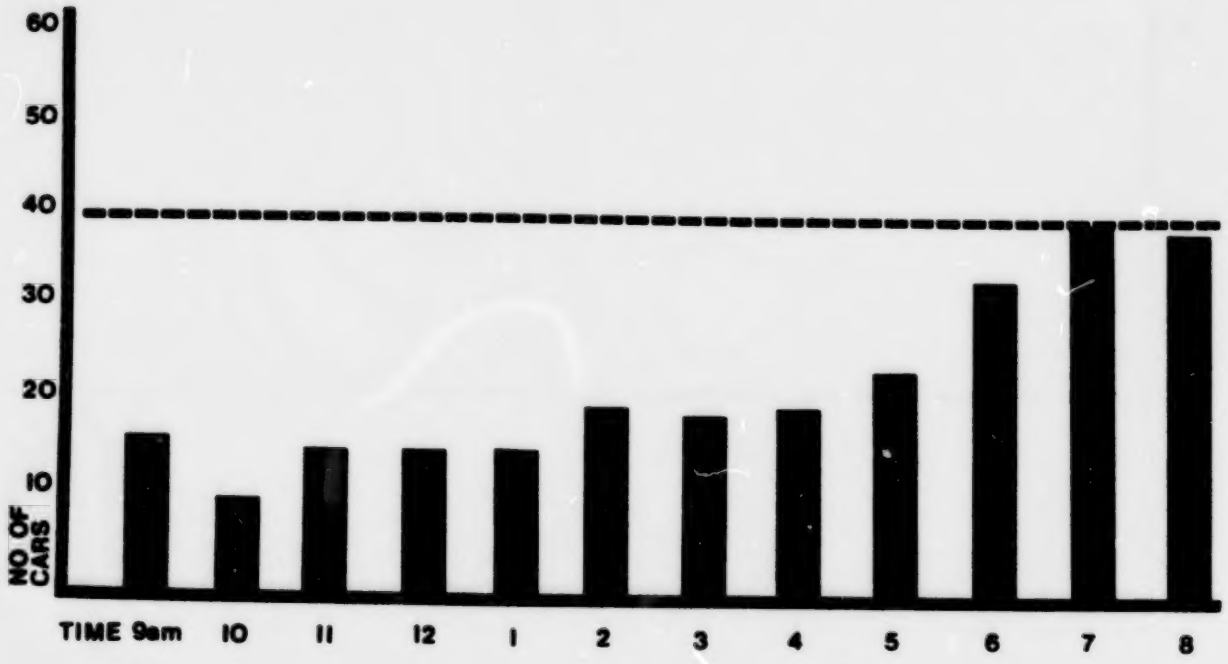
WEEKEND

©

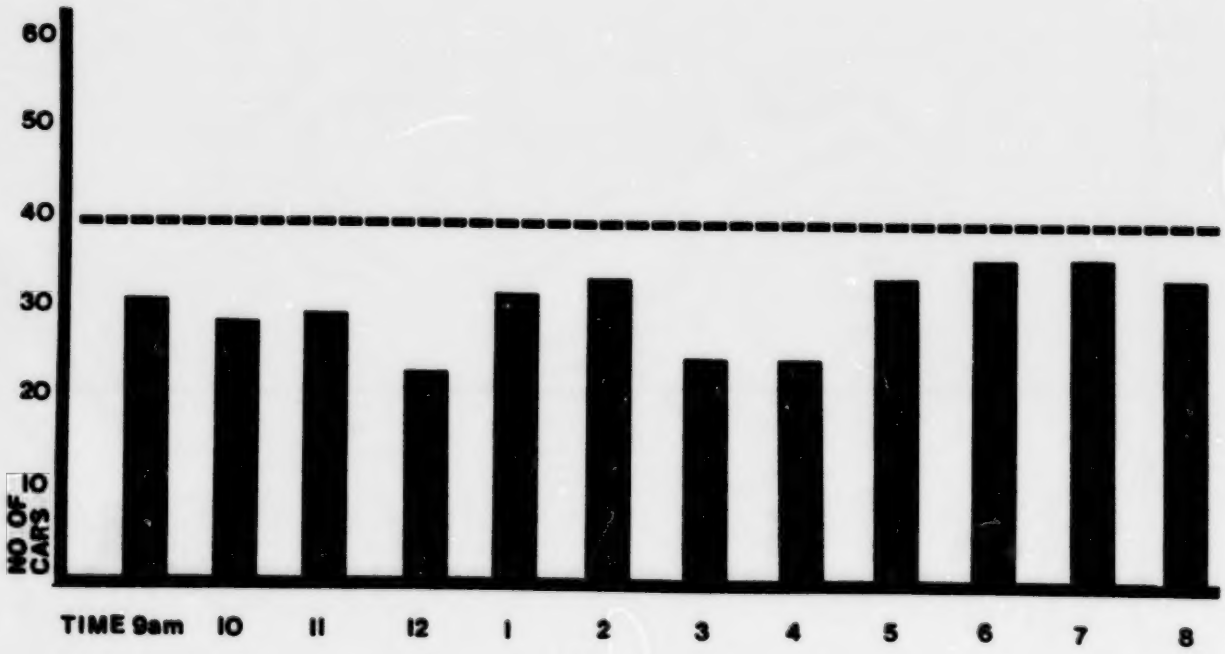
Melita Crescent West

PARKING

---- Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



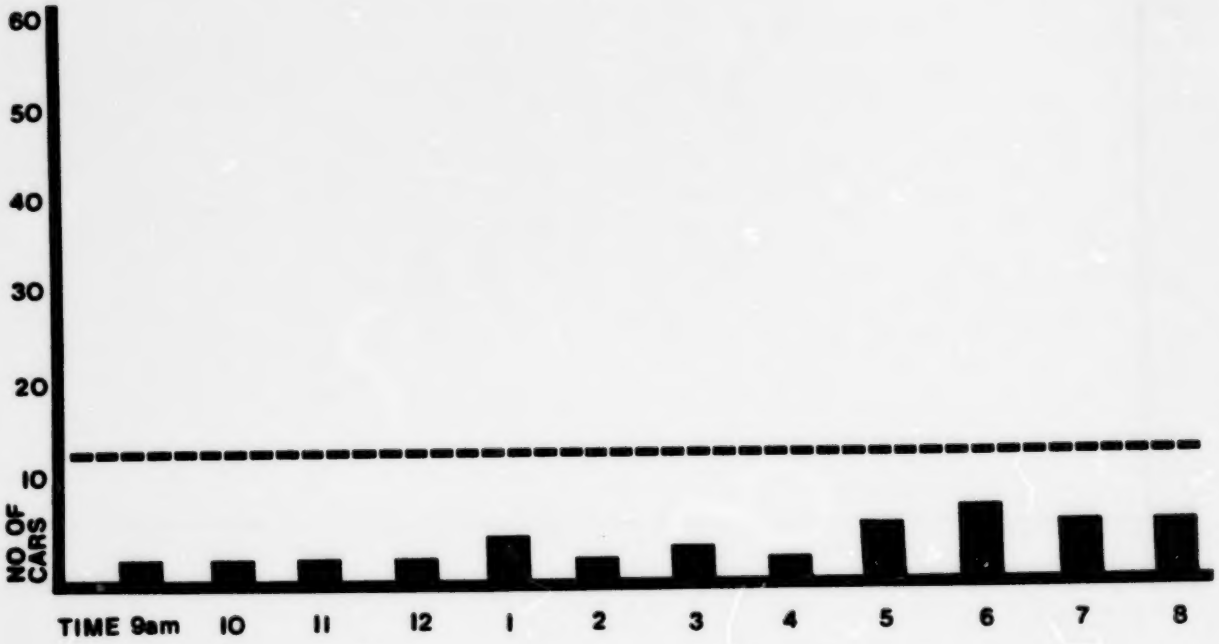
WEEKEND

Ⓓ

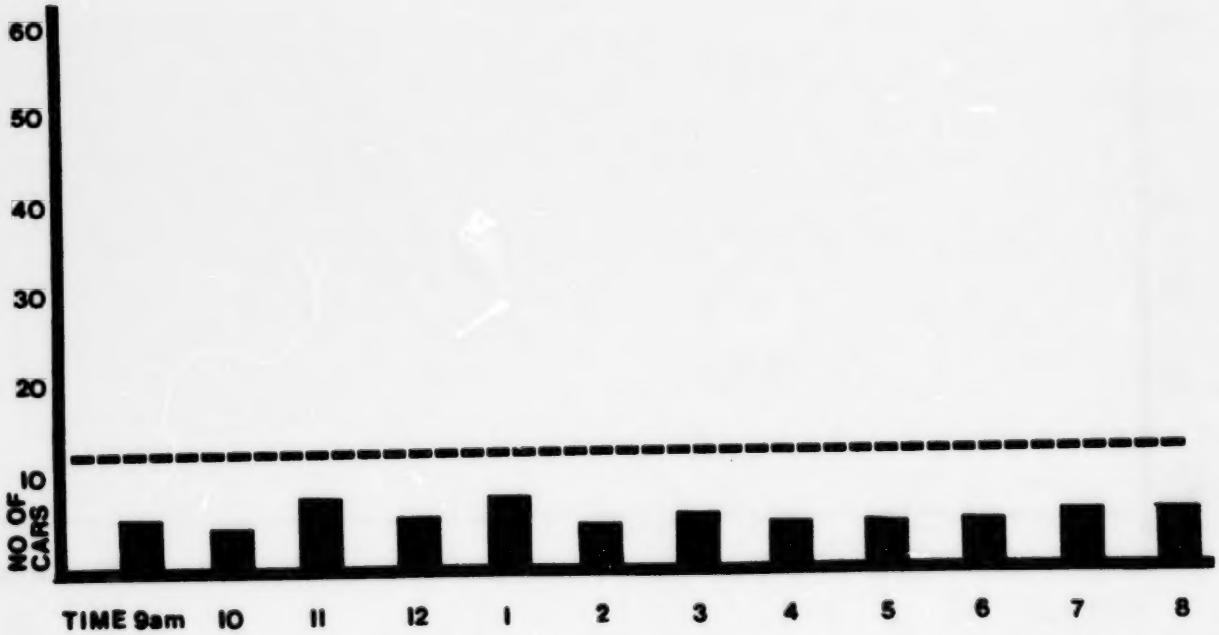
Lambertlodge Ave.

PARKING

Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



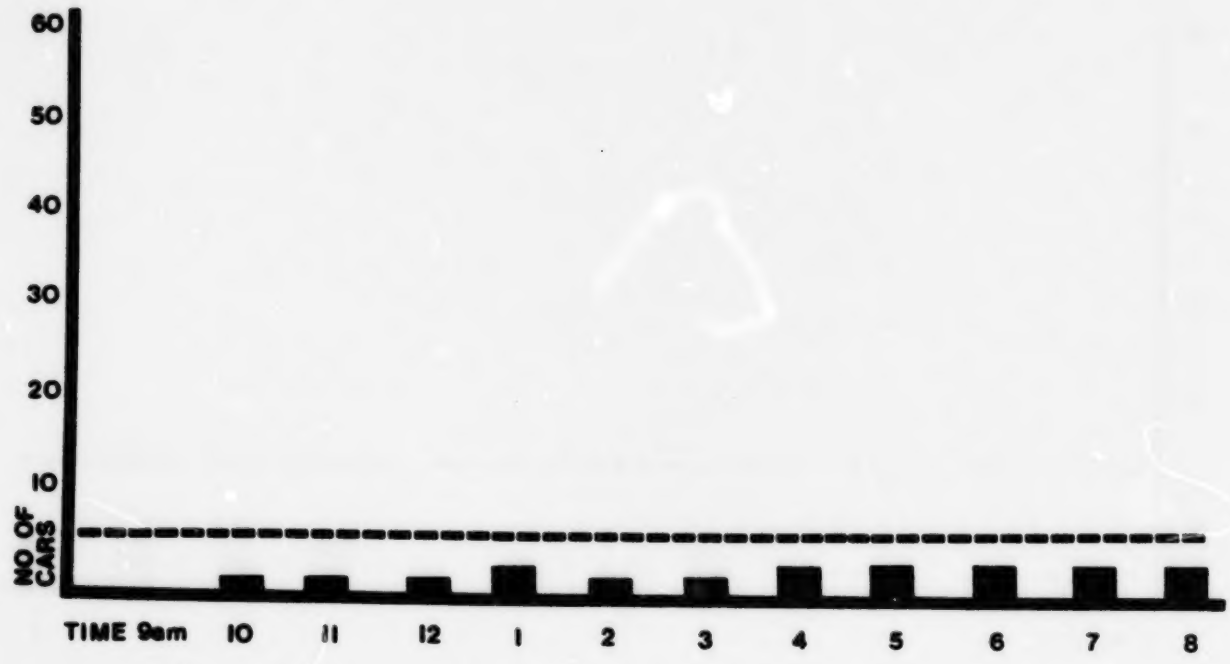
WEEKEND

(E)

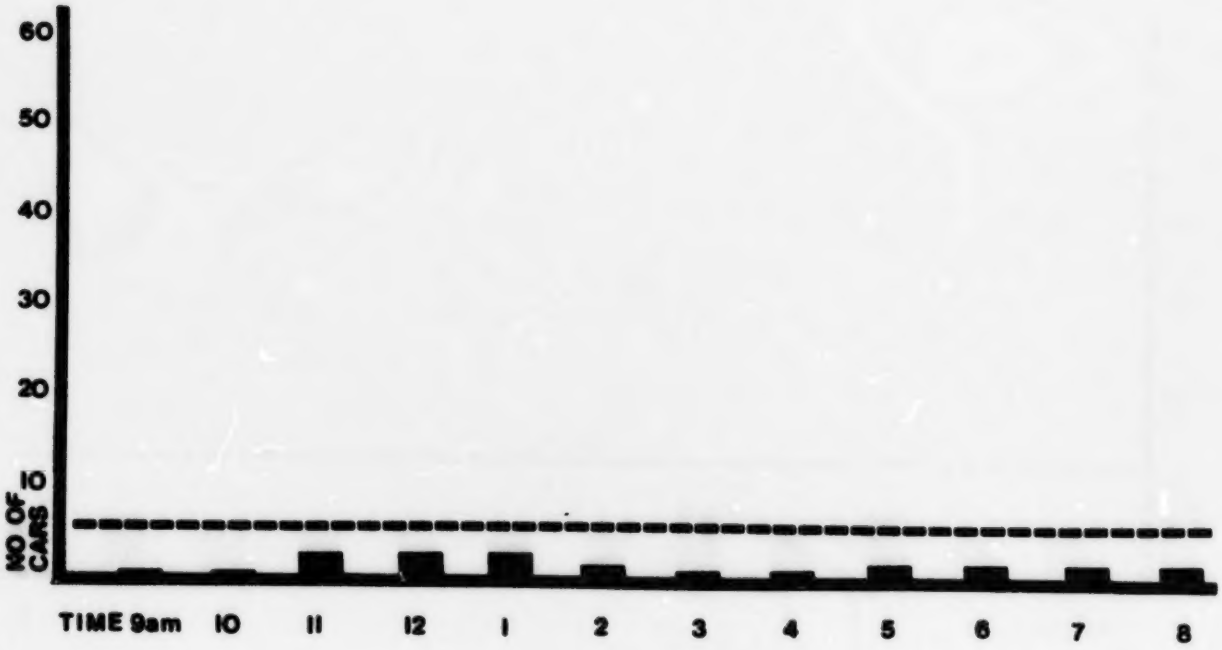
City Lane E

PARKING

▬▬ Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



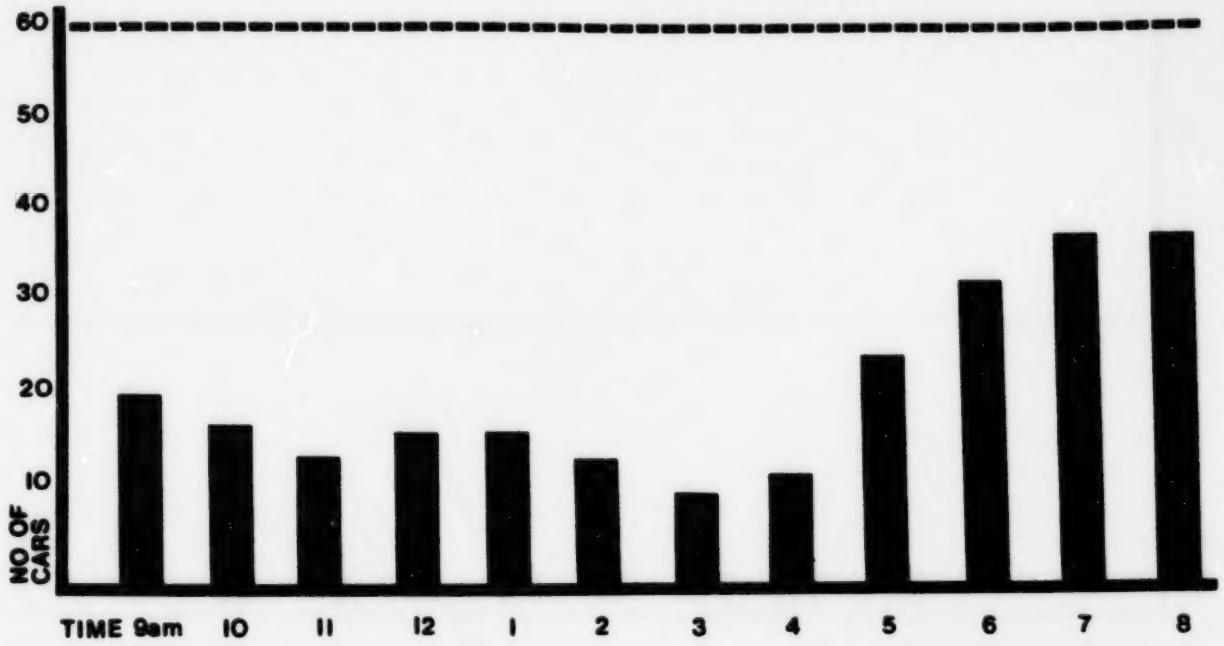
WEEKEND

(F)

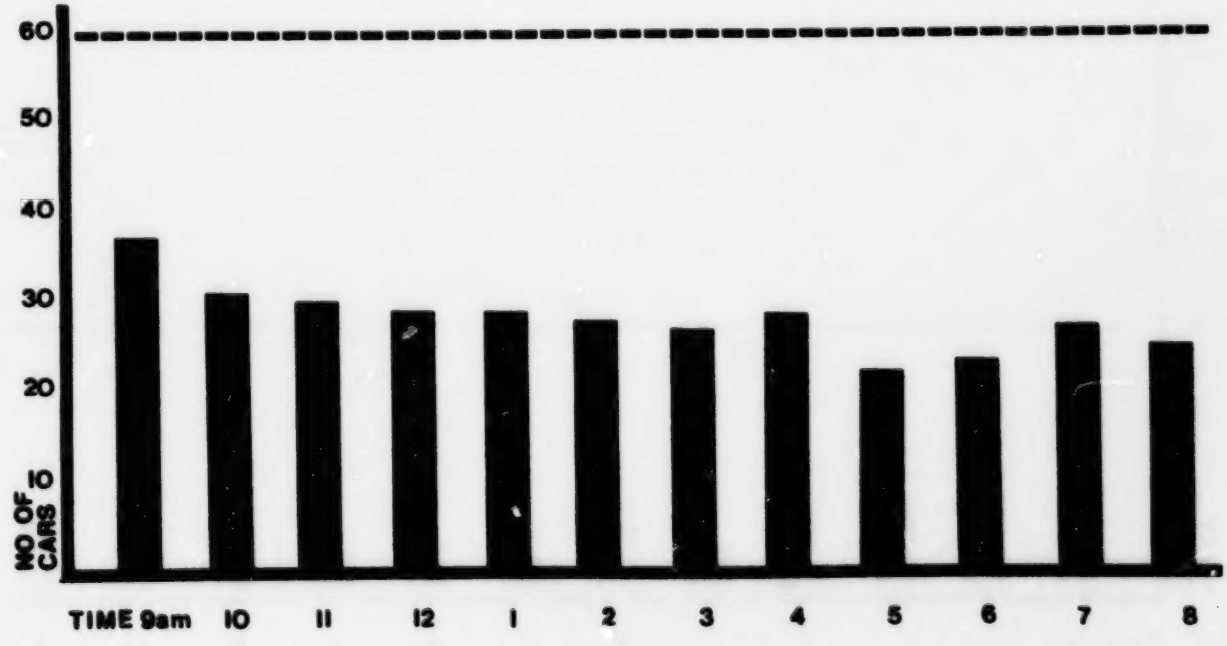
Constance Hamilton (off-street)

PARKING

---- Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



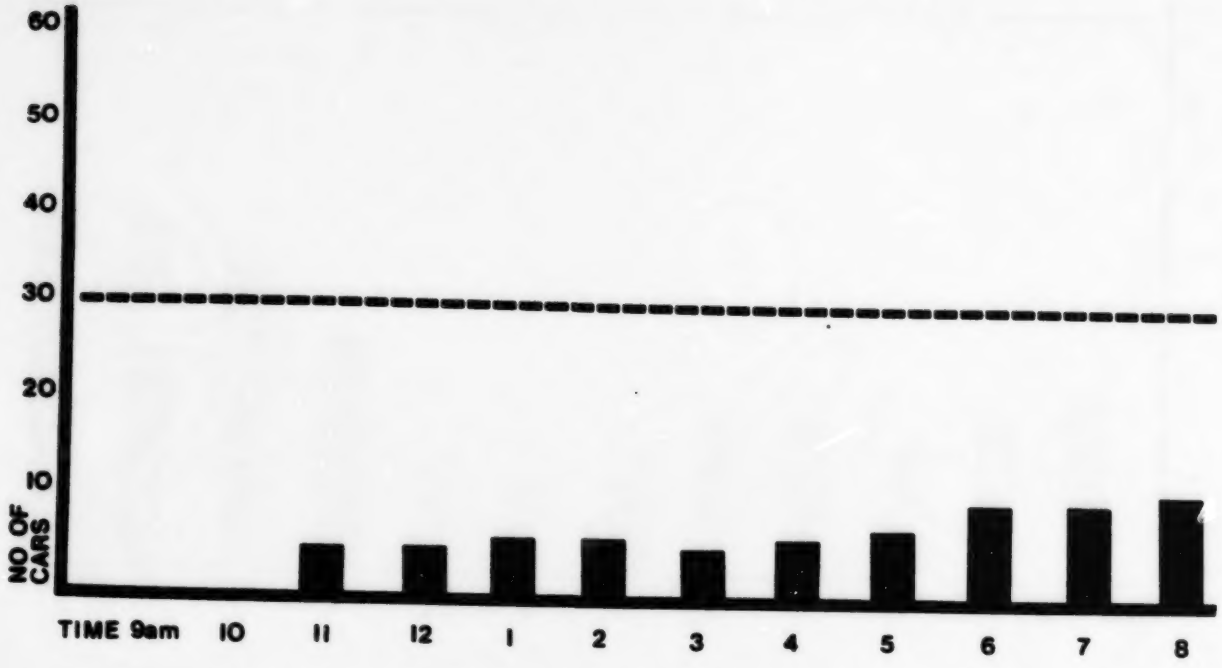
WEEKEND

Ⓖ

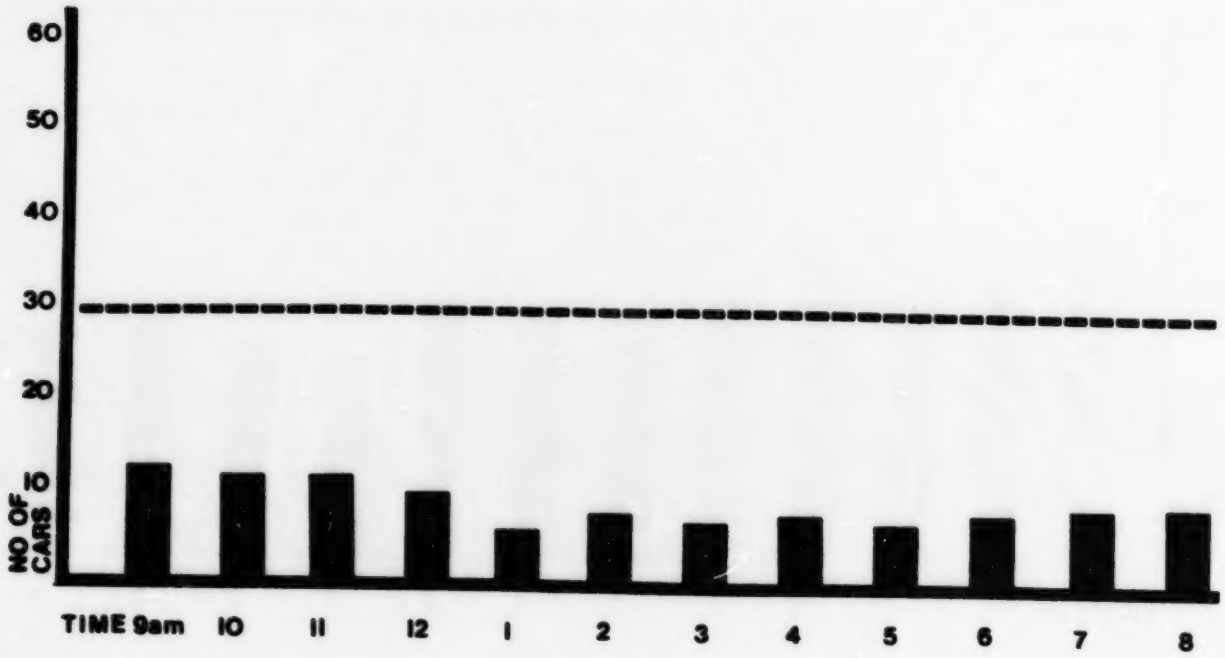
City Lane G

PARKING

---- Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



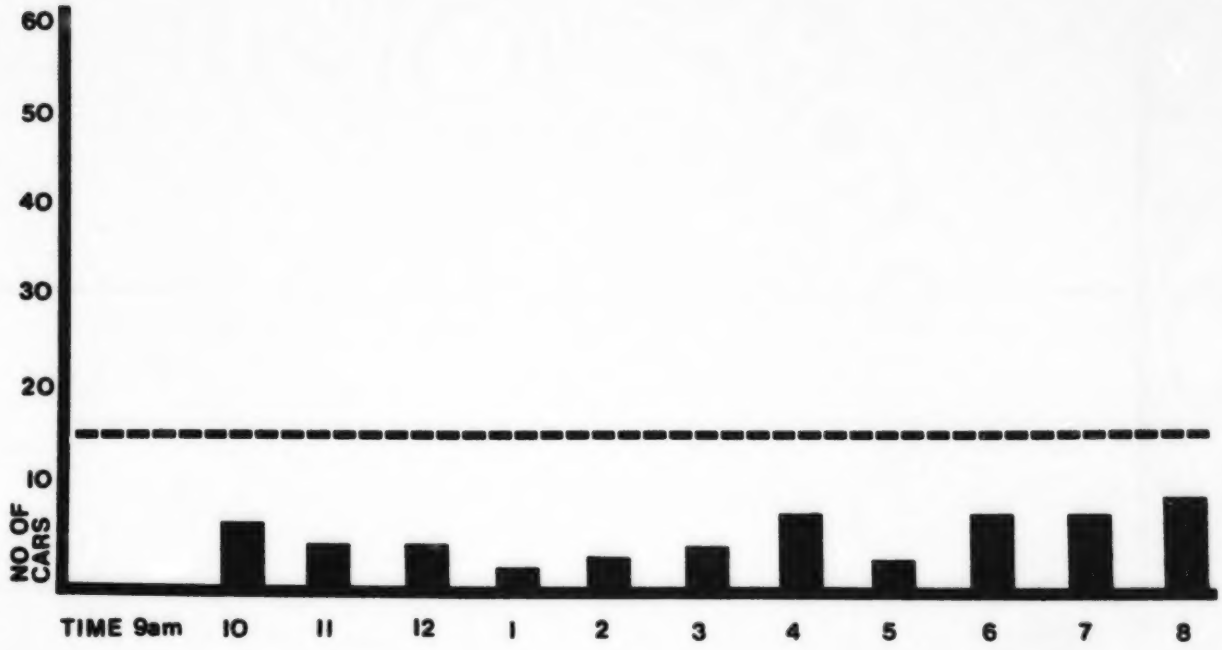
WEEKEND

(H)

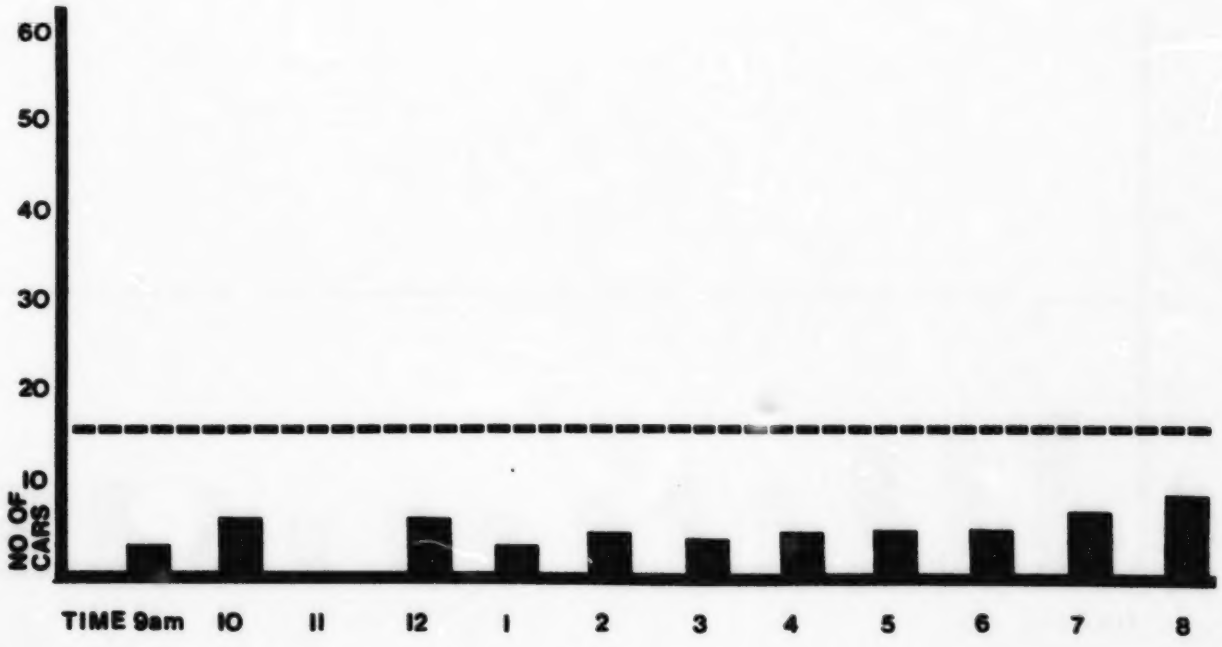
Lotus (off-street)

Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available

PARKING



WEEKDAY



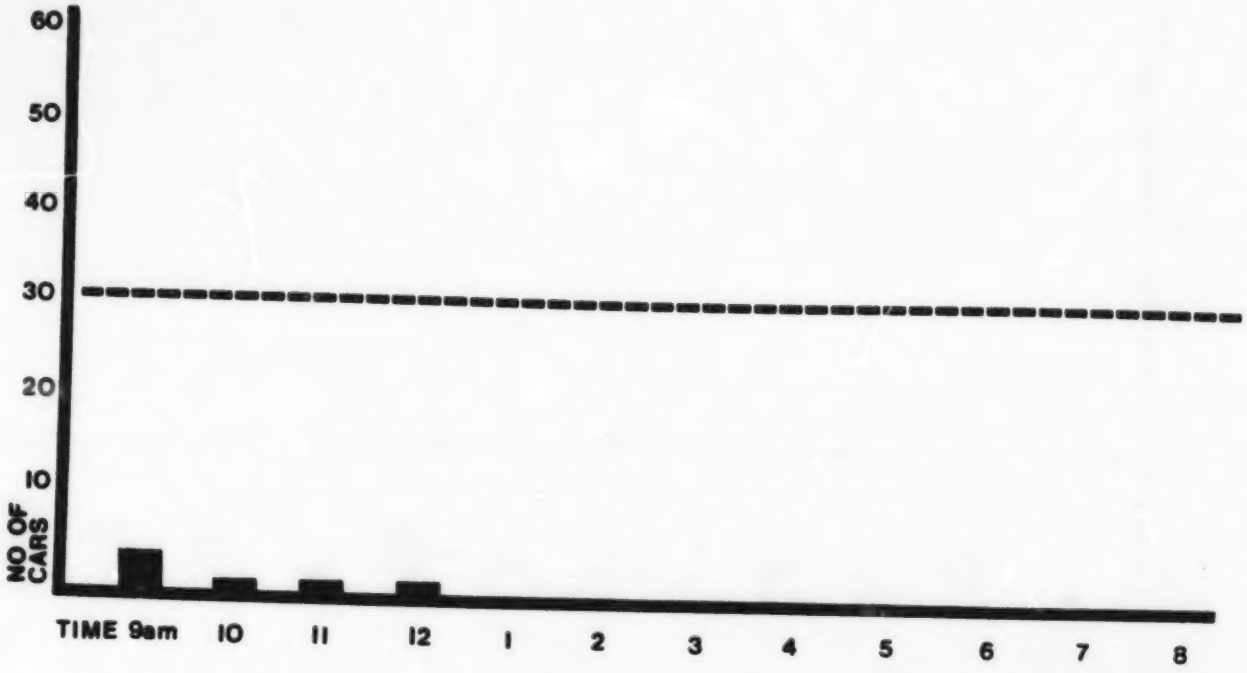
WEEKEND

(1)

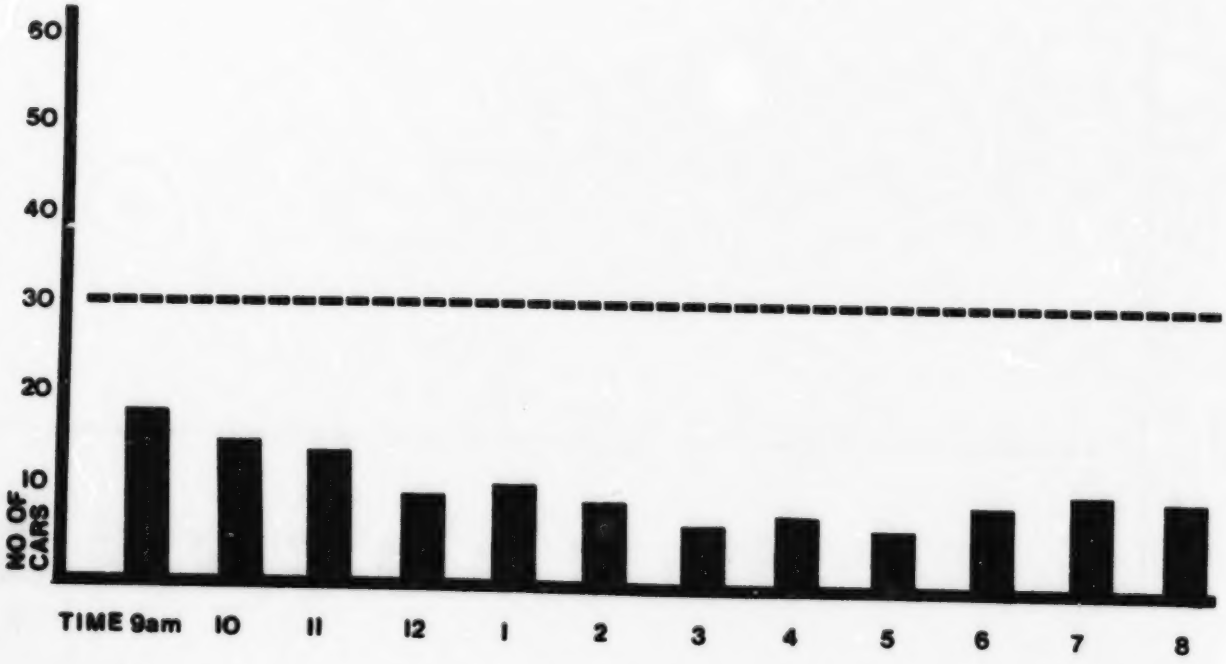
Melita Crescent East

Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available

PARKING



WEEKDAY



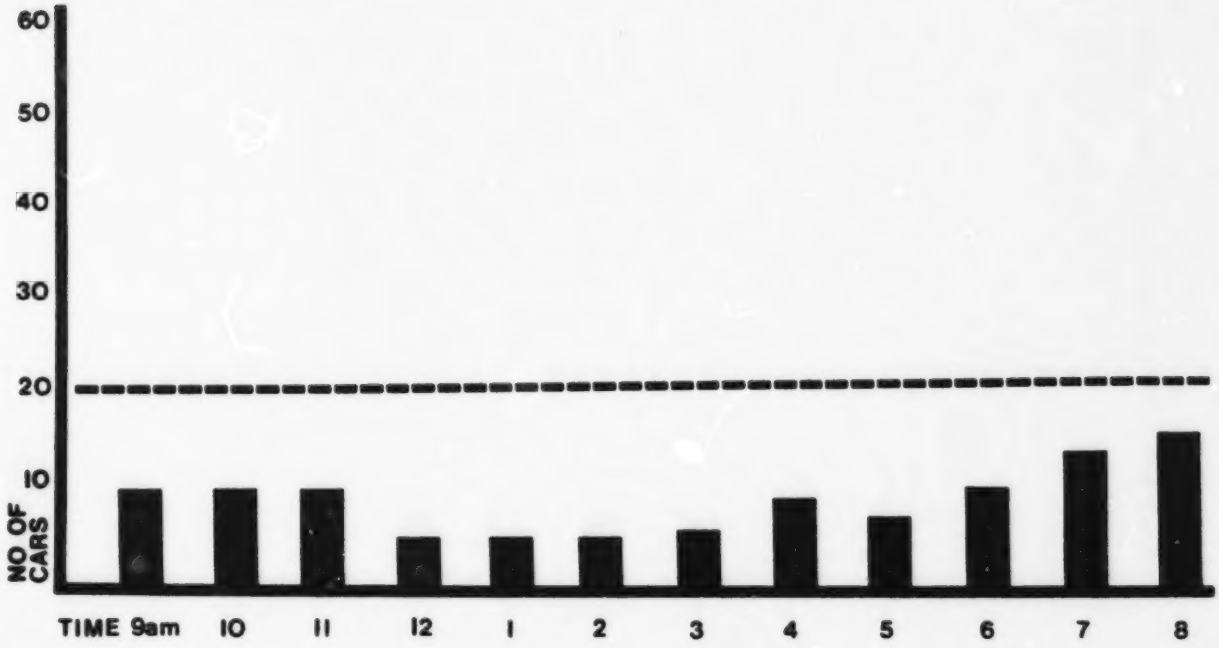
WEEKEND

Ⓙ

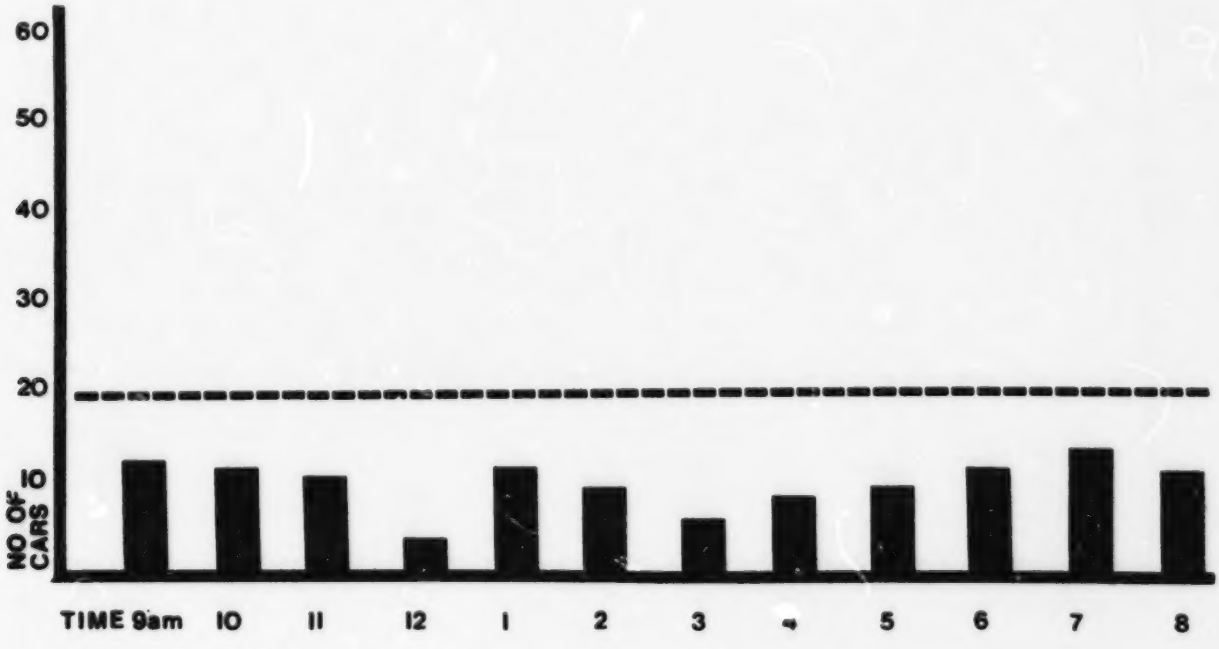
Cityhome (off-street)

▬▬ Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available

PARKING



WEEKDAY



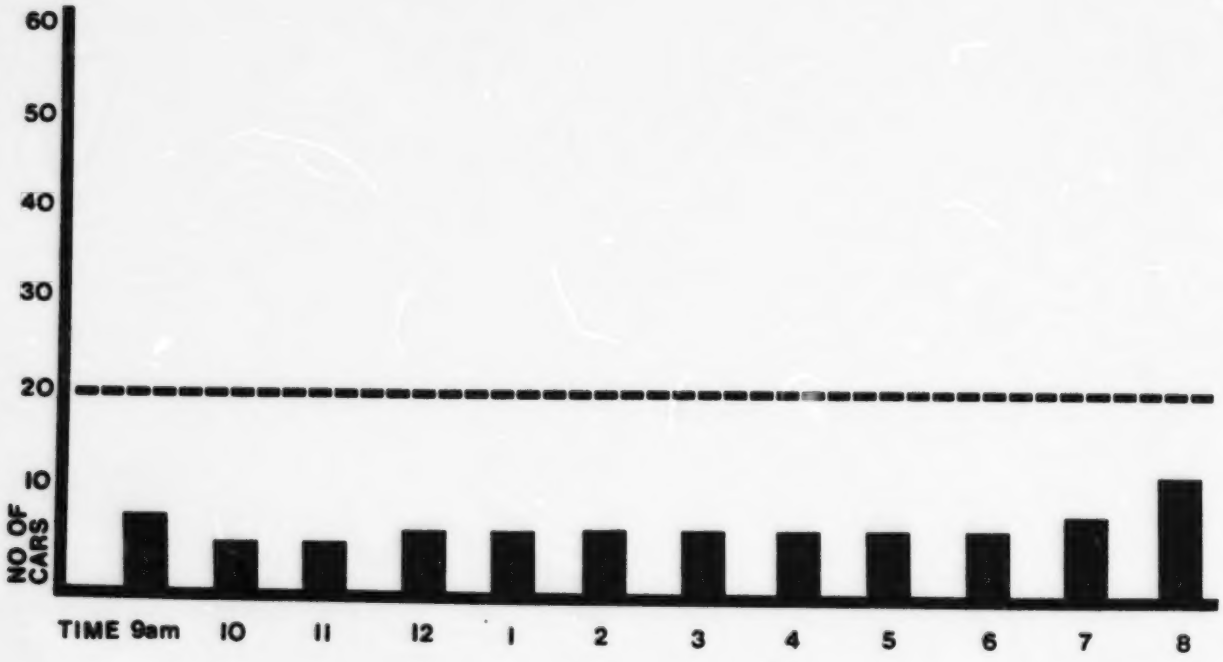
WEEKEND

(K)

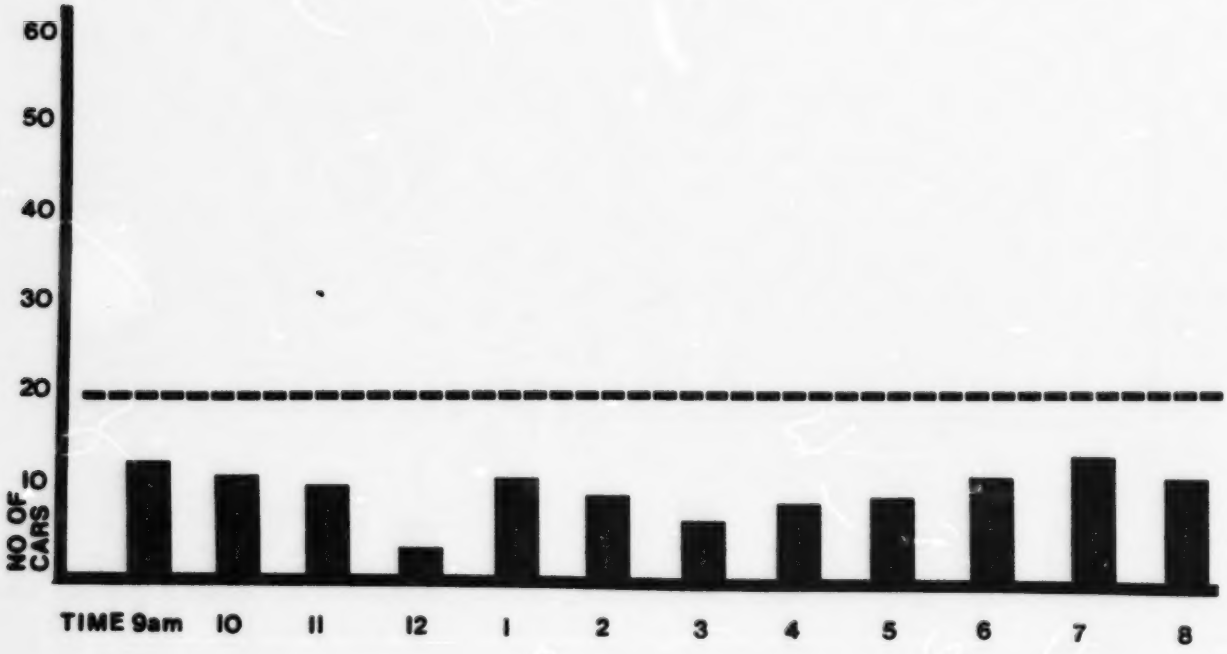
City Lane K

---- Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available

PARKING



WEEKDAY



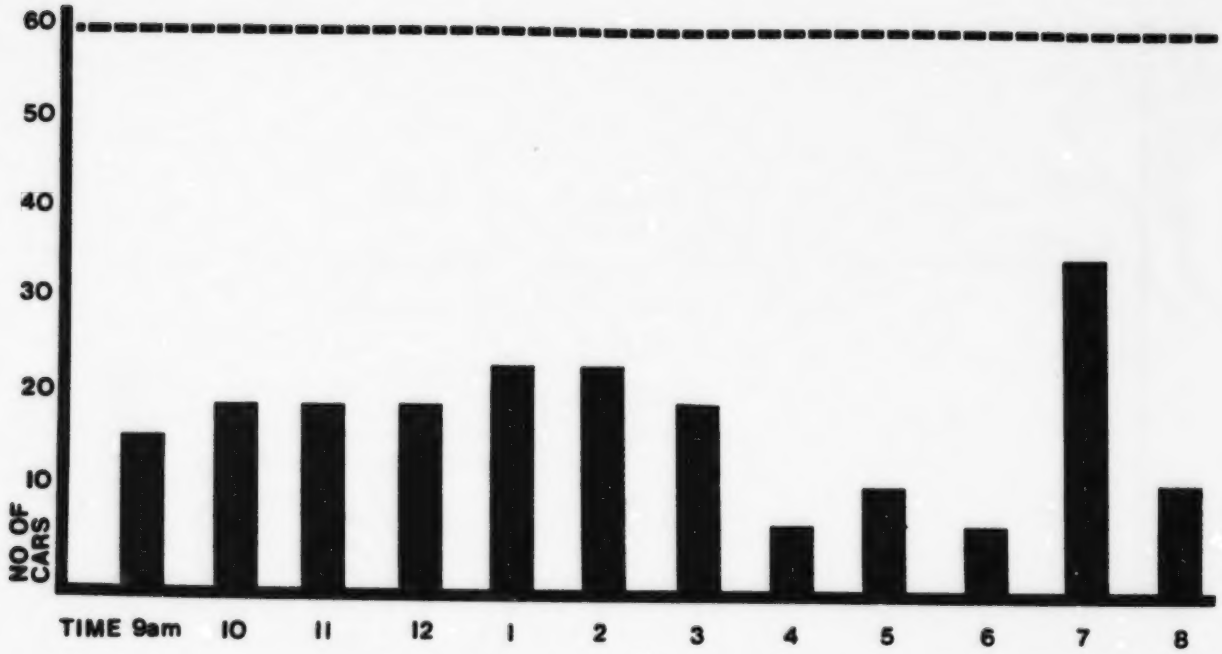
WEEKEND

(L)

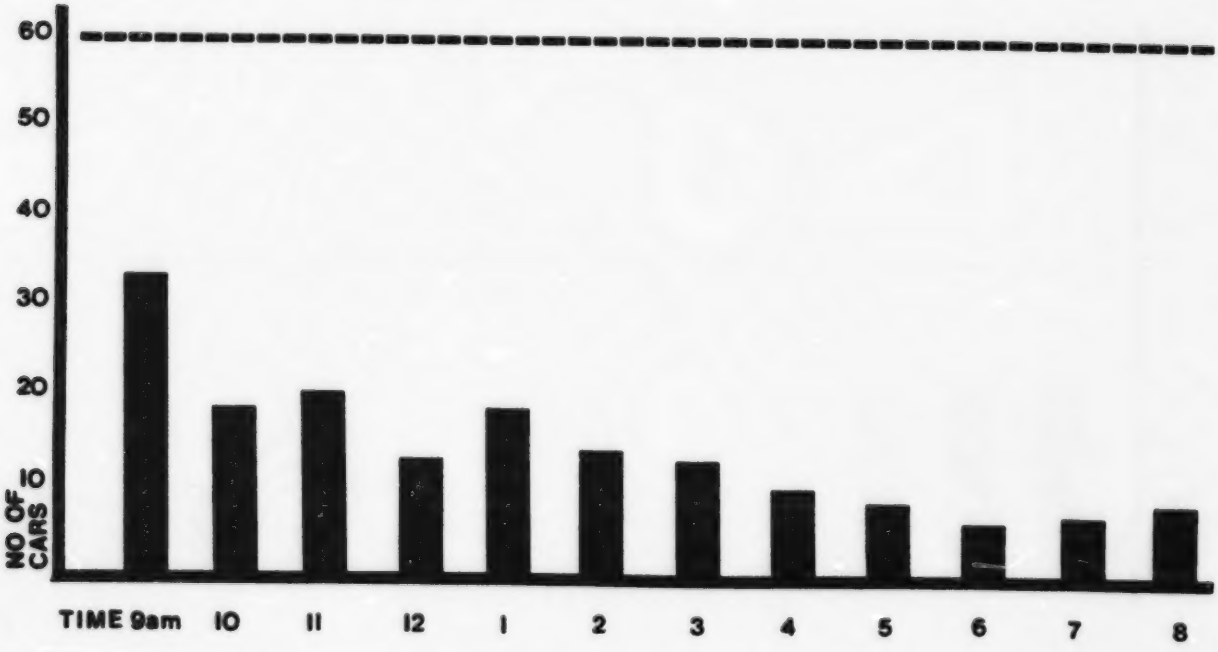
Fred Dowling (off-street)

PARKING

▬▬ Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



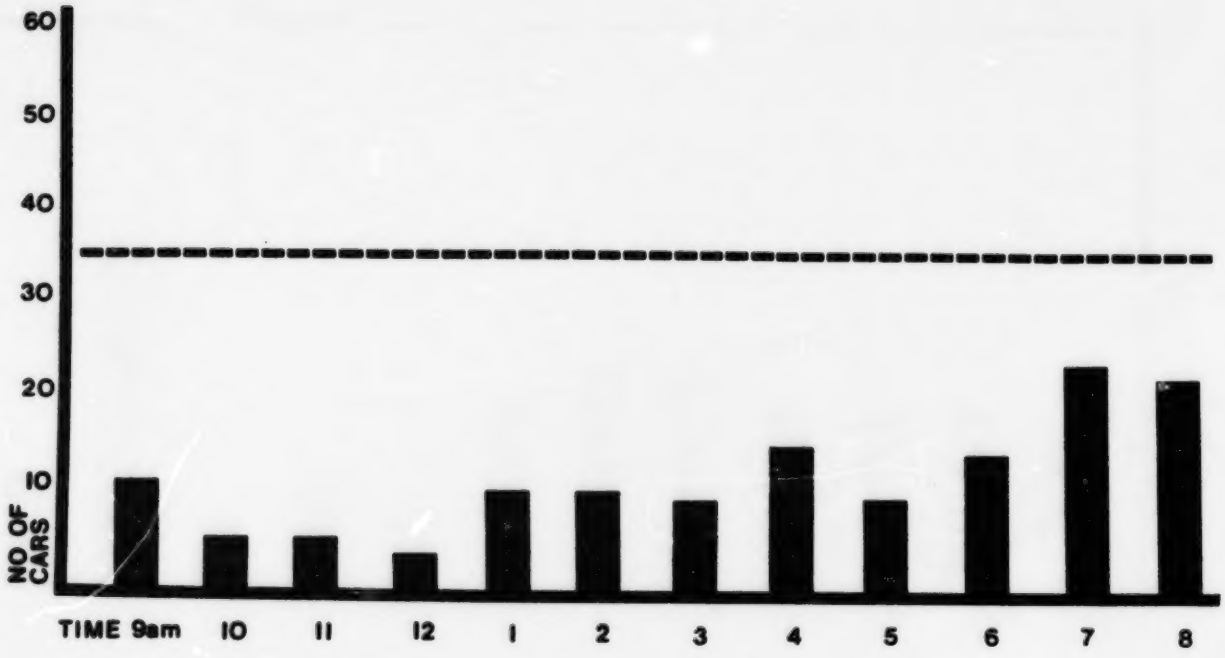
WEEKEND

(M)

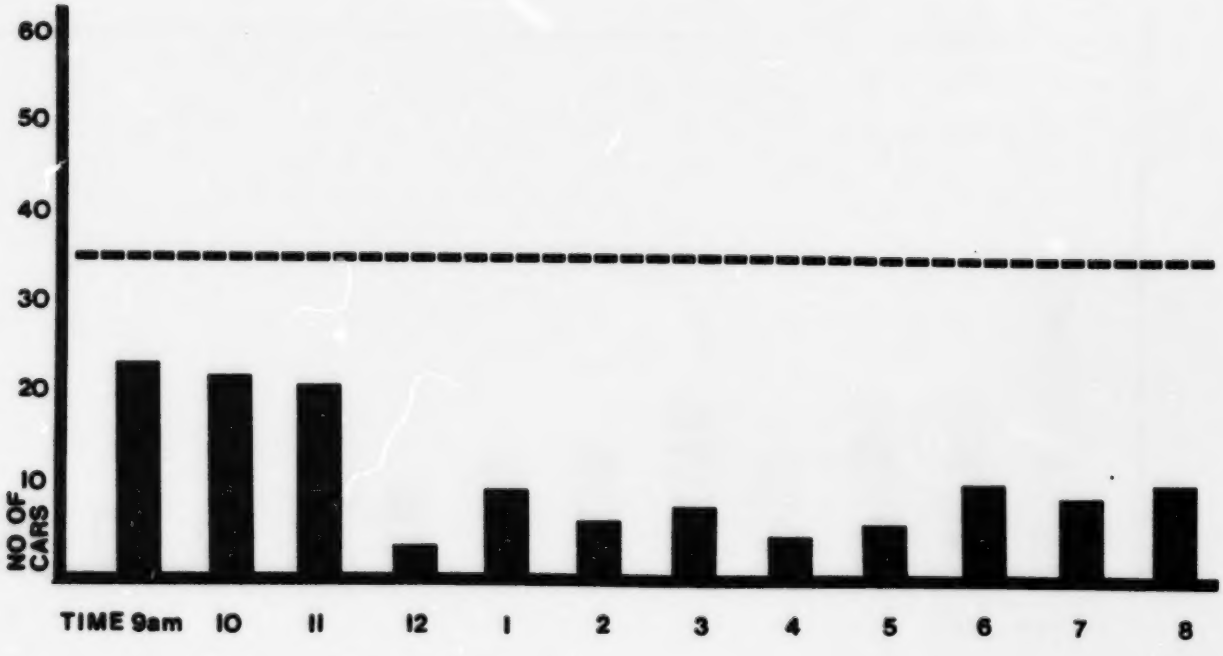
West York Homes (off-street)

PARKING

---- Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



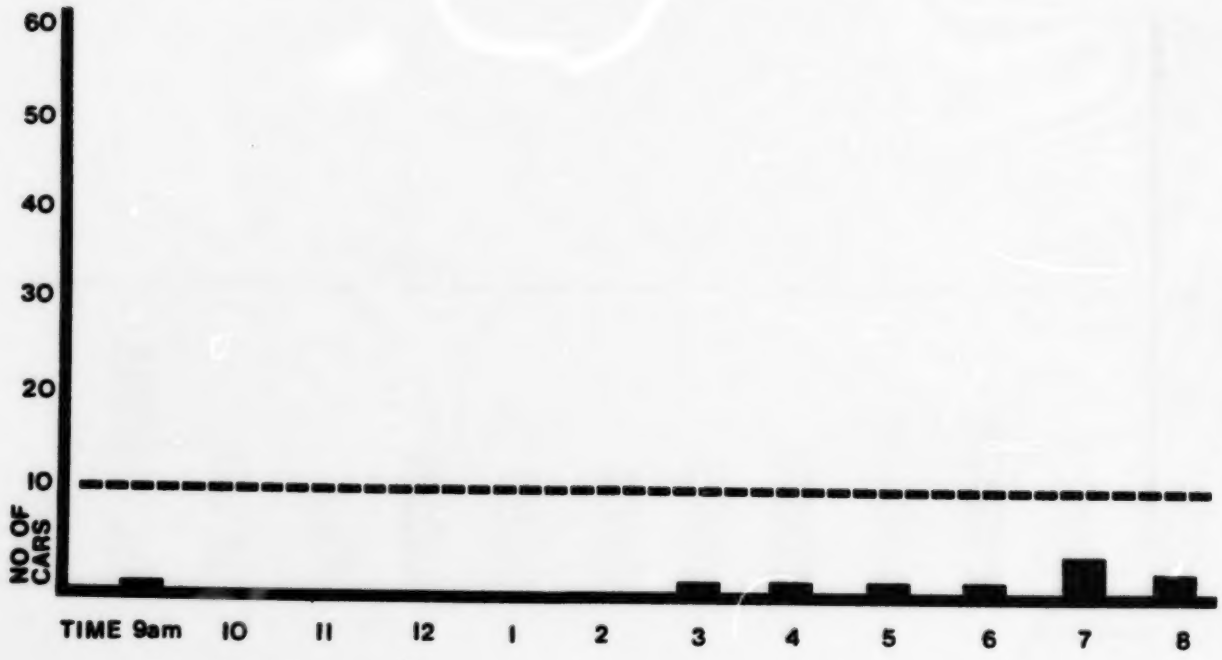
WEEKEND

N

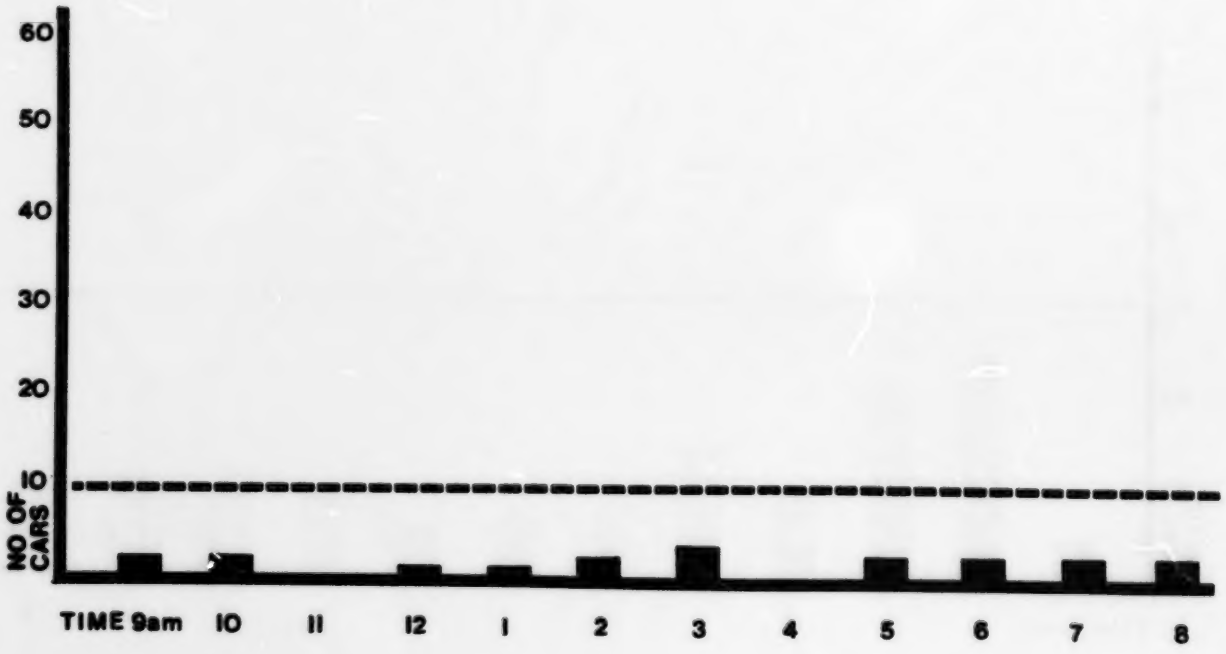
Melita Crescent South

PARKING

Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY

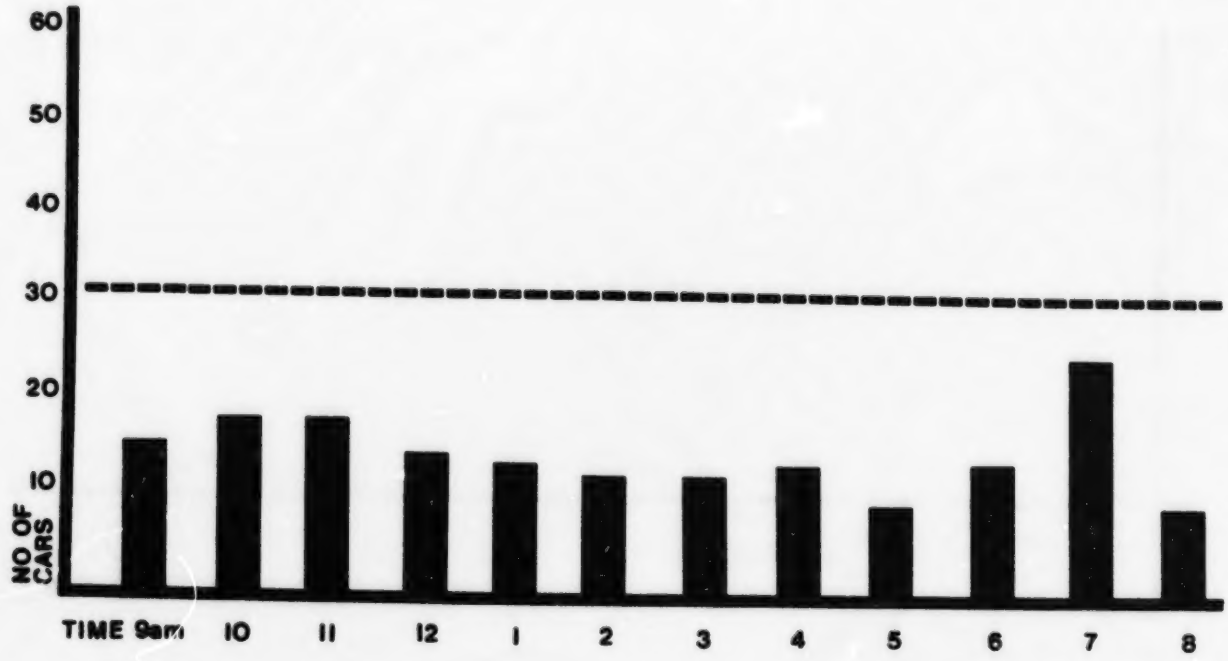


WEEKEND

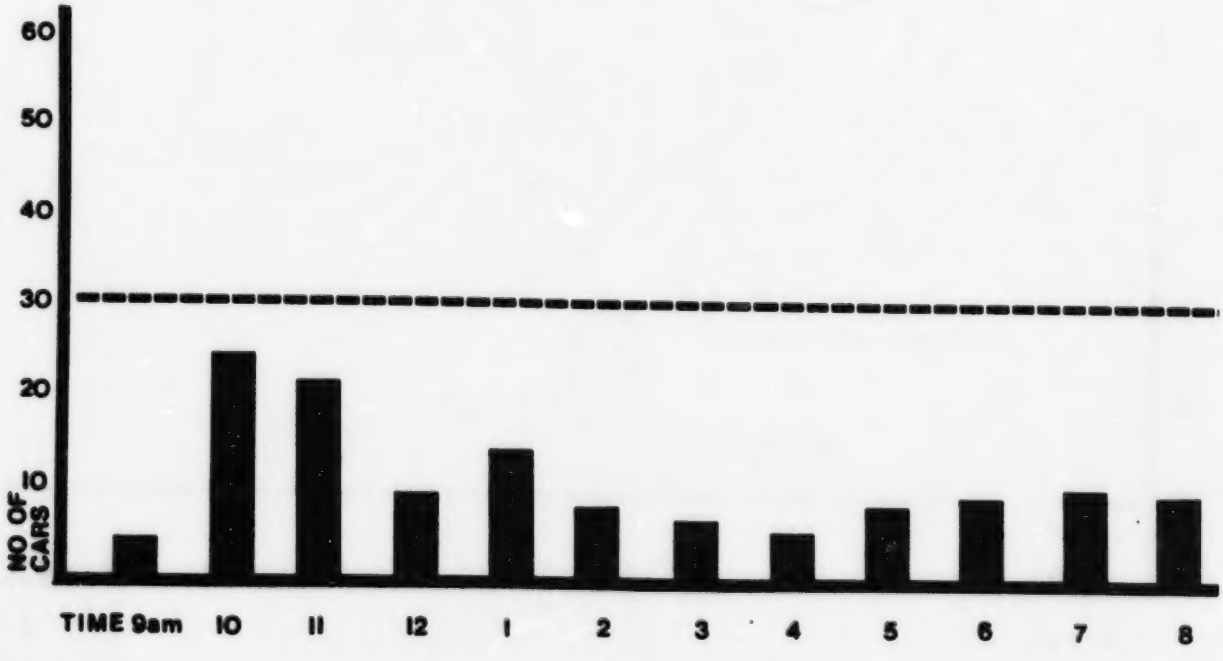
Christie St.

PARKING

Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



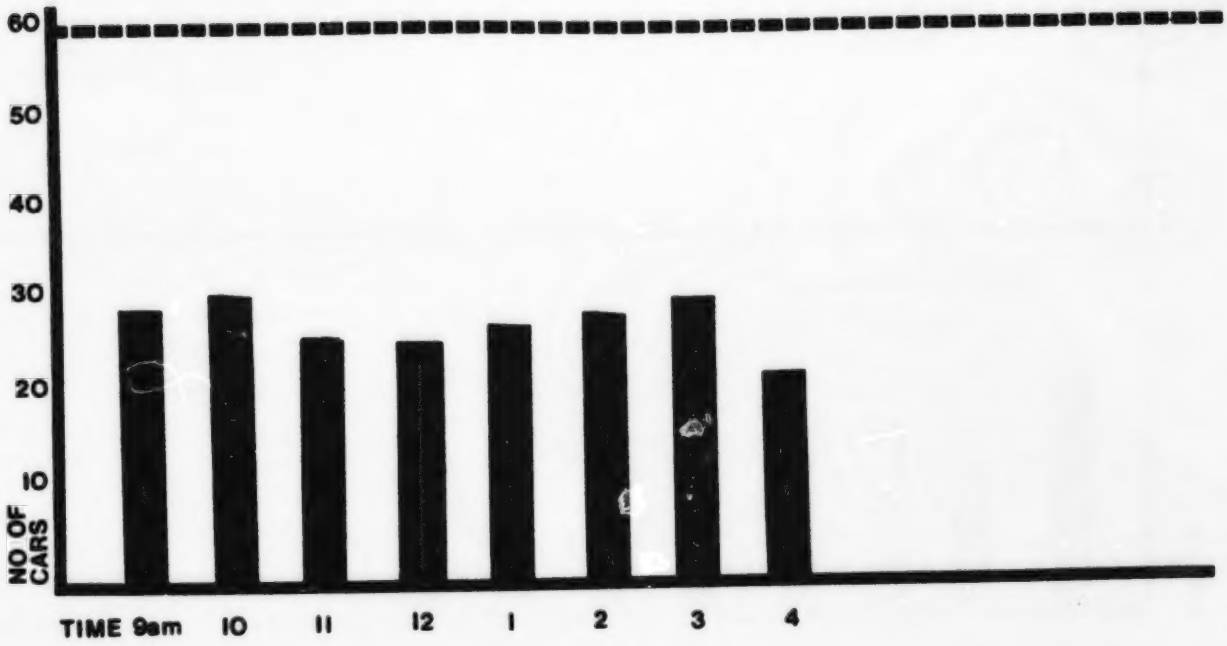
WEEKEND

Ⓟ

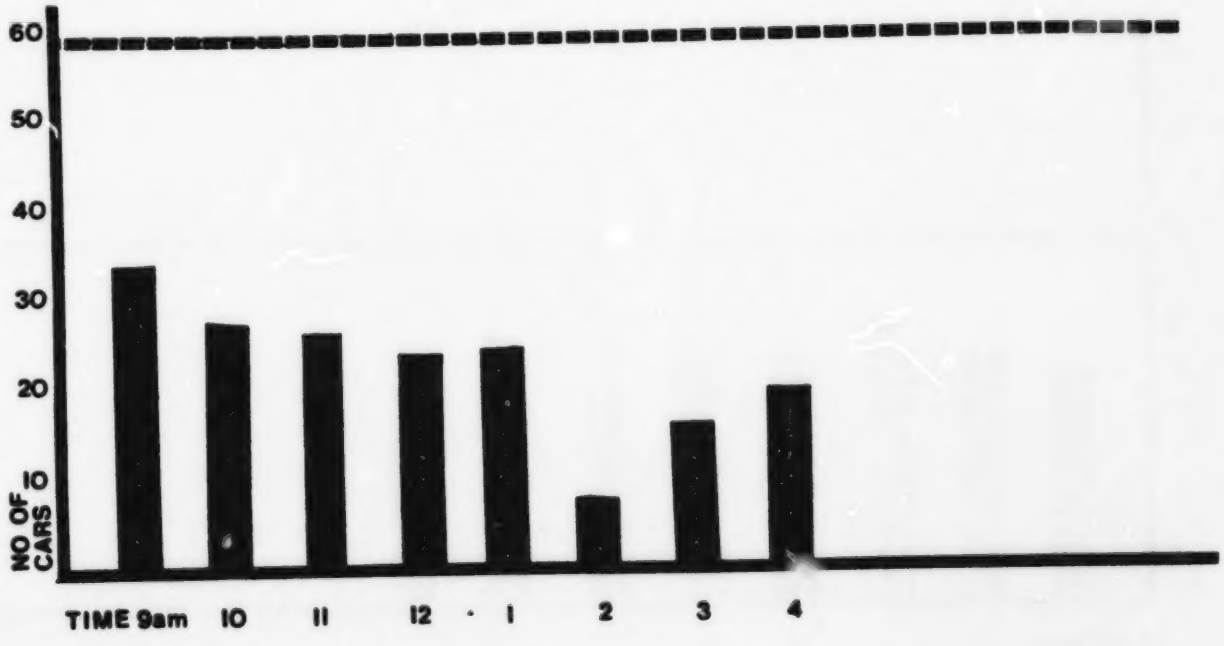
Wychcrest Ave.

PARKING

▬▬ Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



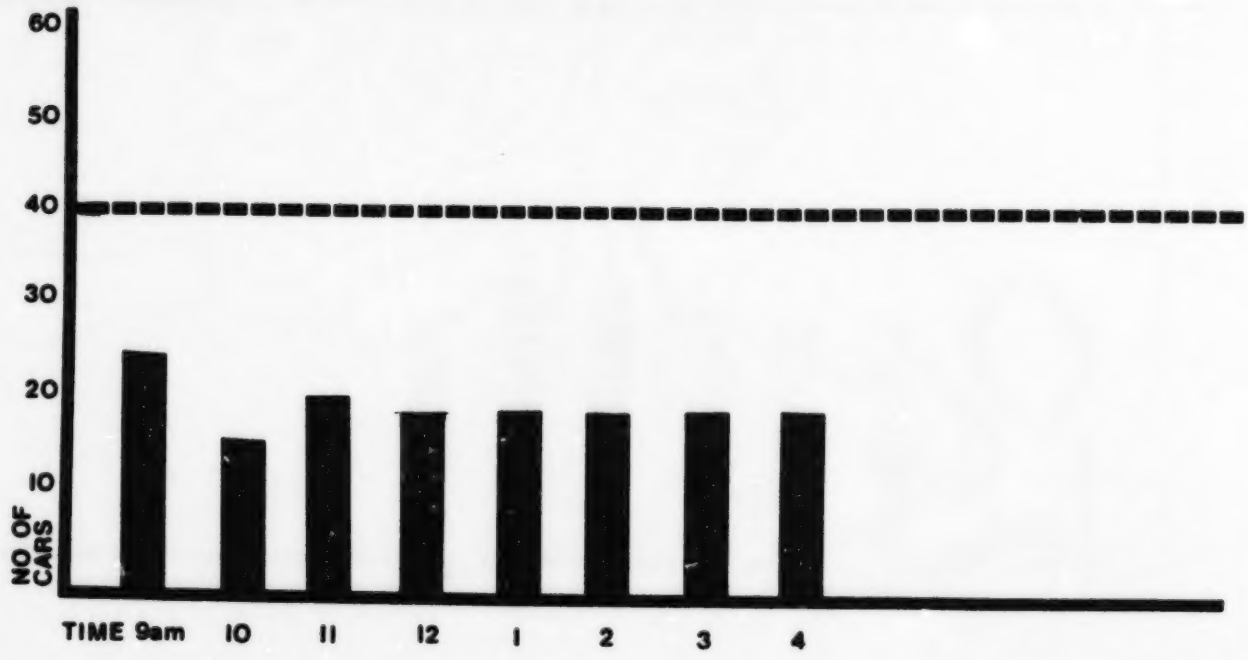
WEEKEND

(A)

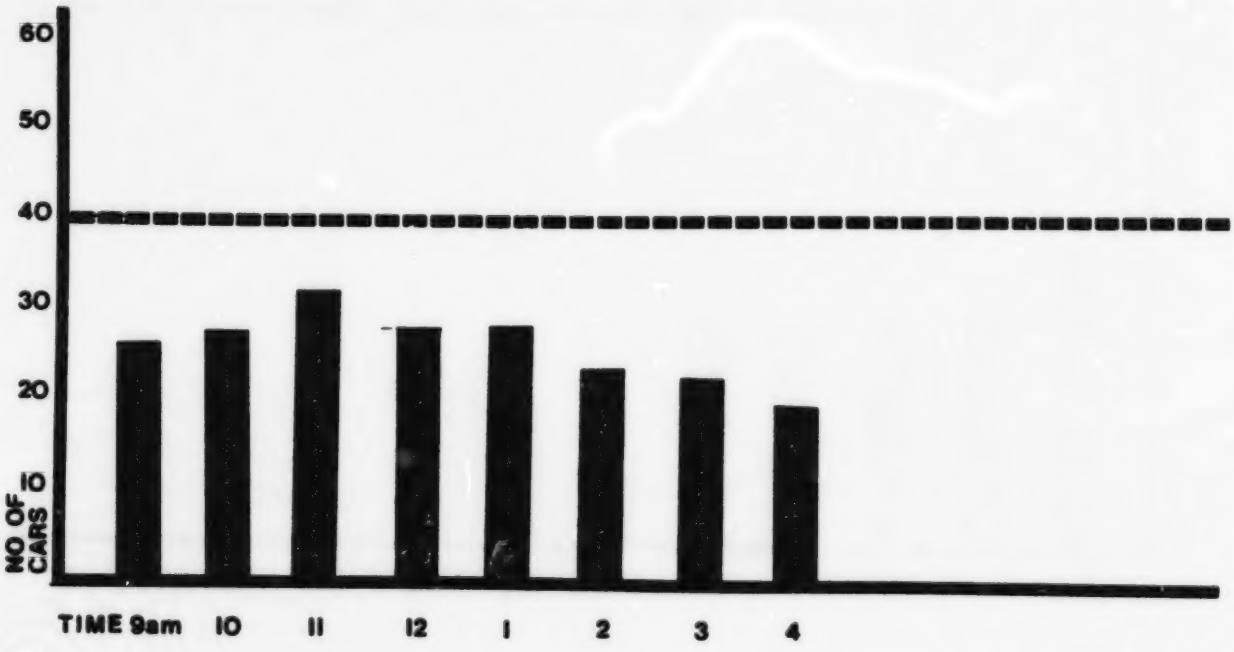
Public Lane A

WINTER PARKING

---- Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



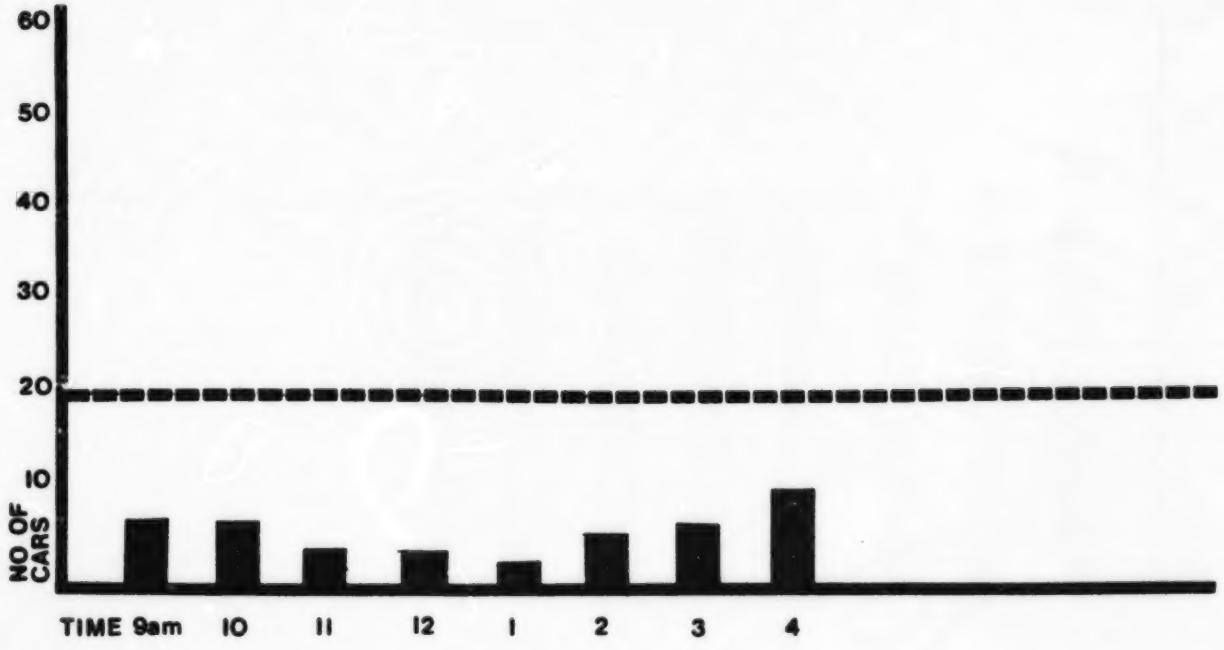
WEEKEND

(B)

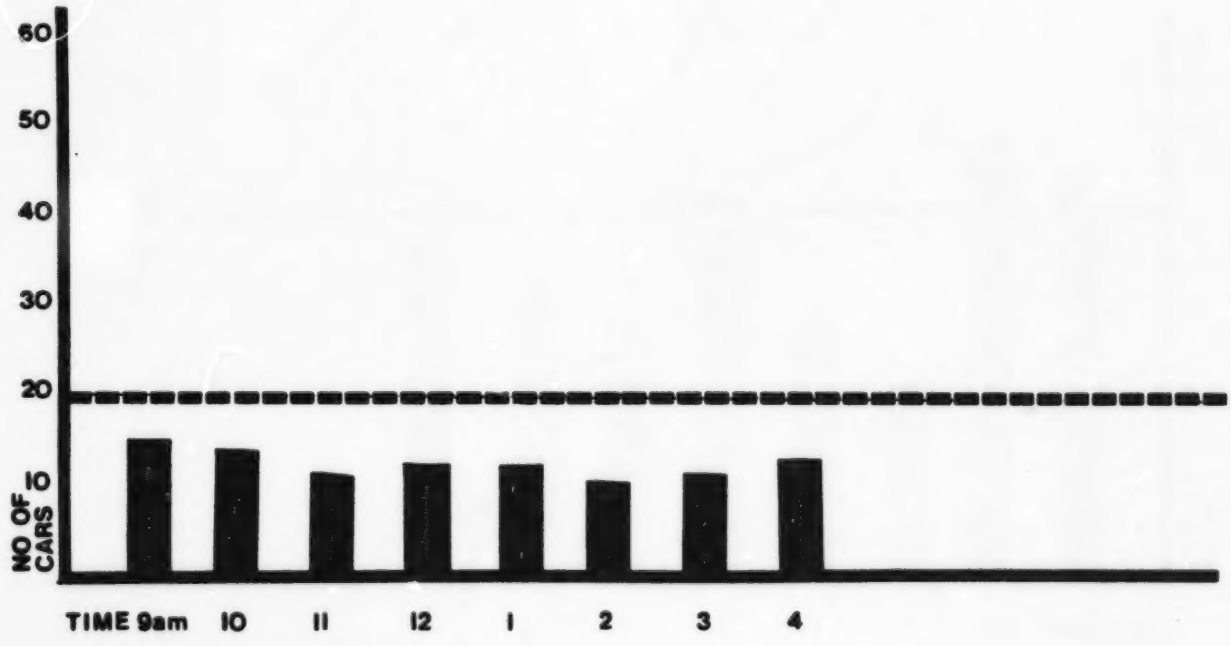
Melita Ave

▬▬ Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available

WINTER PARKING



WEEKDAY



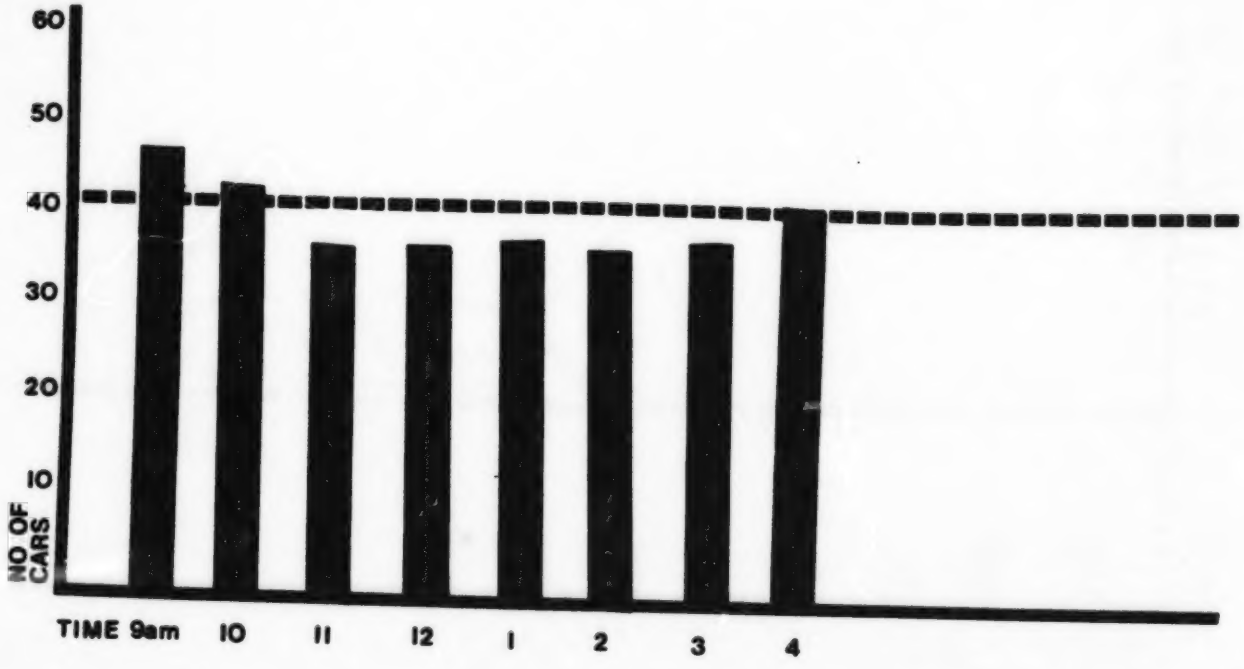
WEEKEND

C

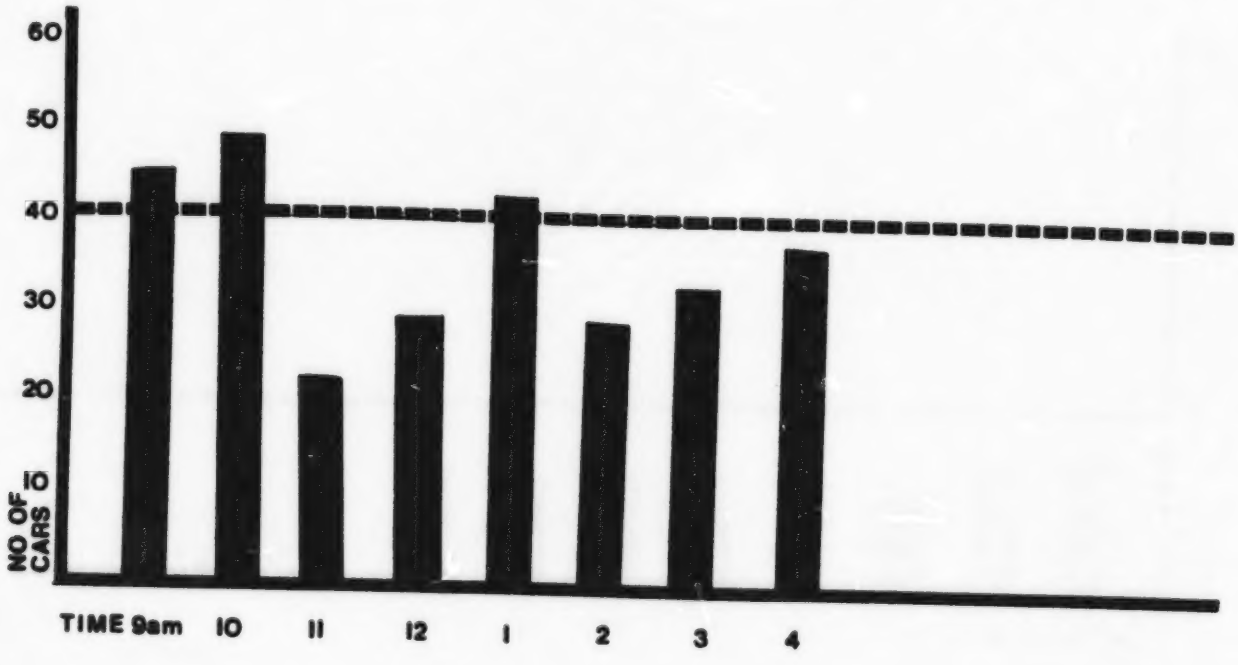
Melita Crescent West

WINTER PARKING

Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



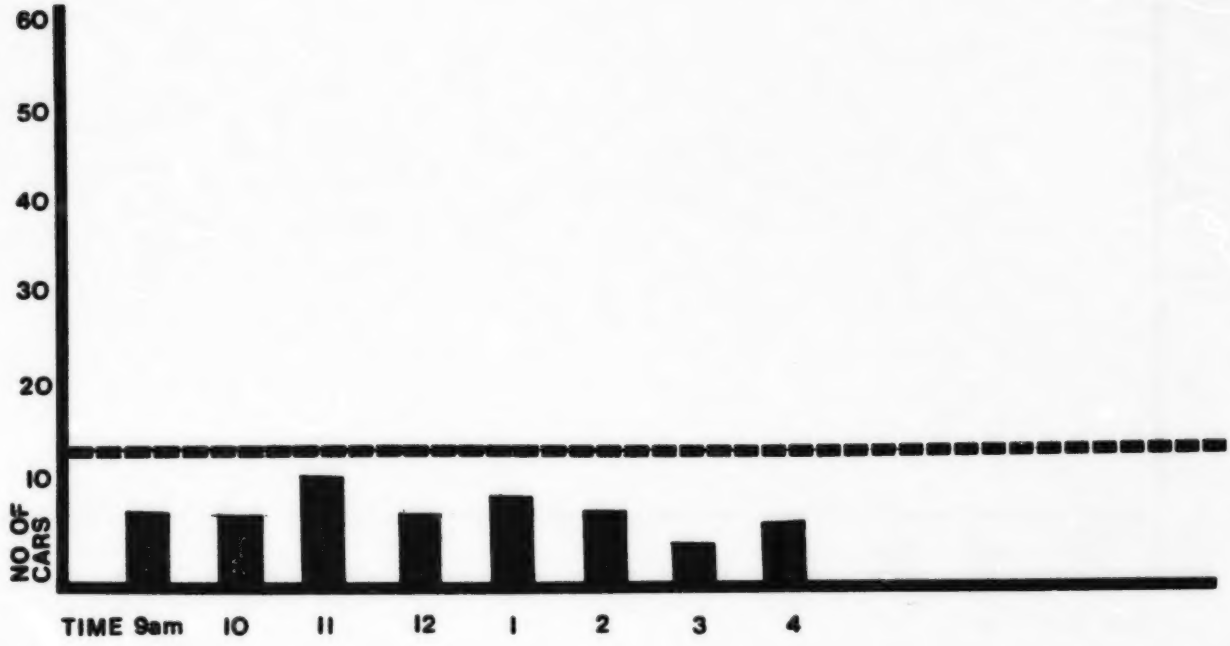
WEEKEND

(D)

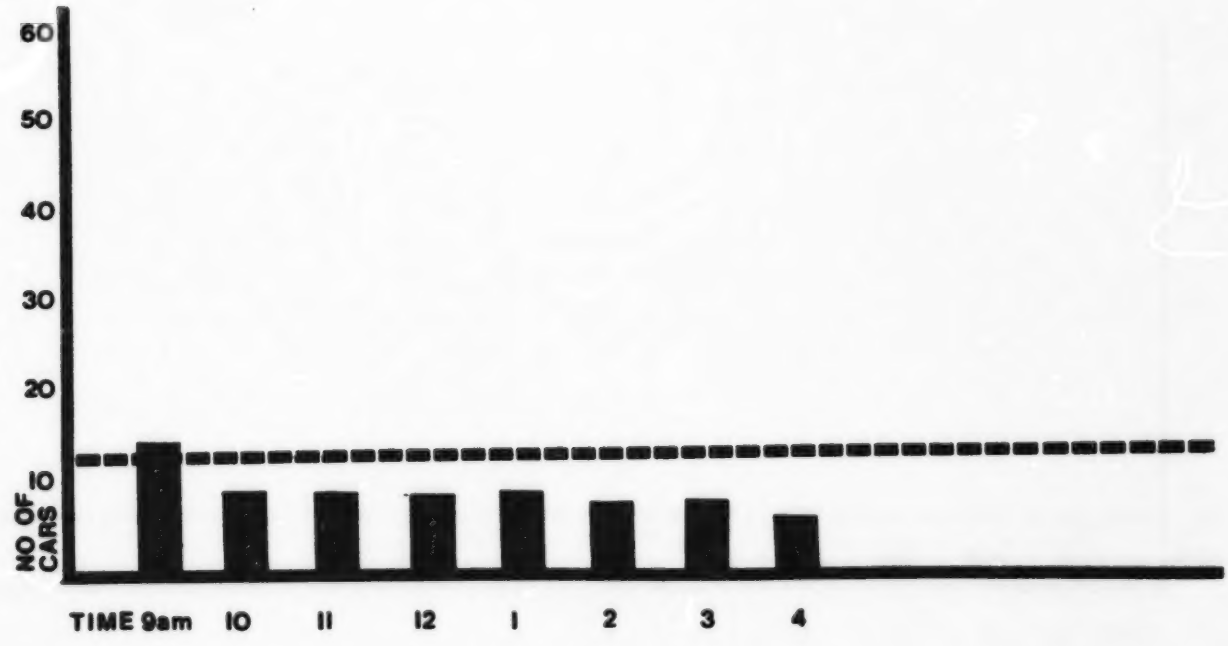
Lambertlodge Ave.

WINTER PARKING

Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



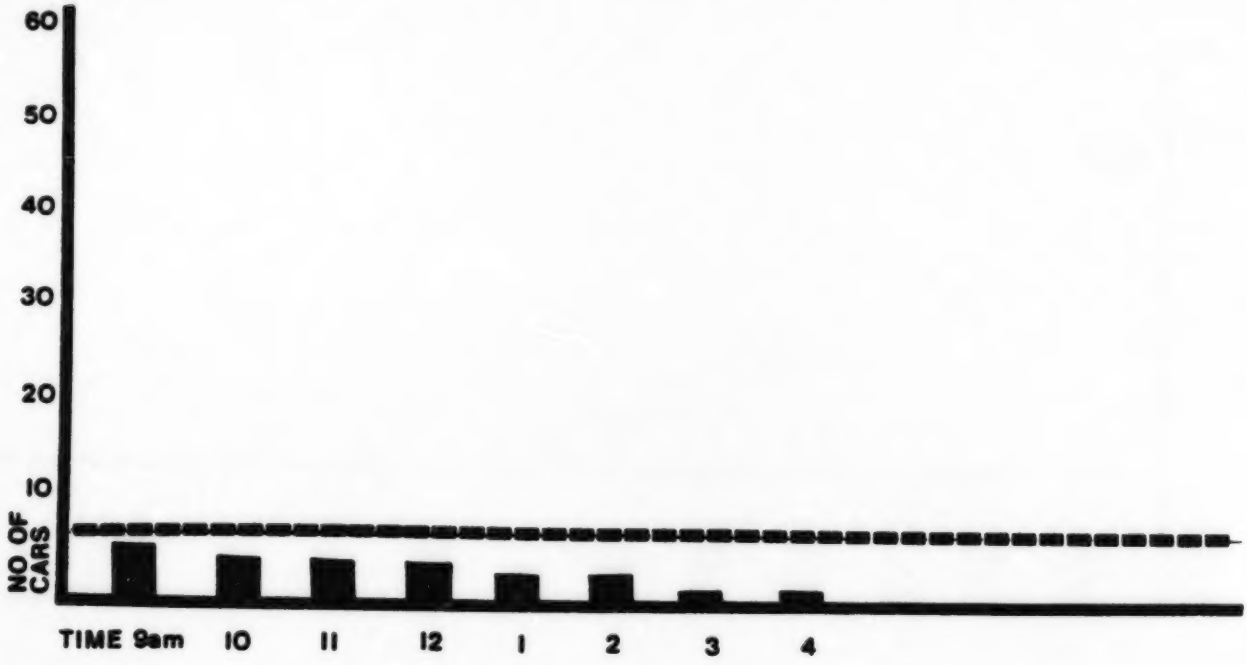
WEEKEND

(E)

City Lane E

WINTER PARKING

---- Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY

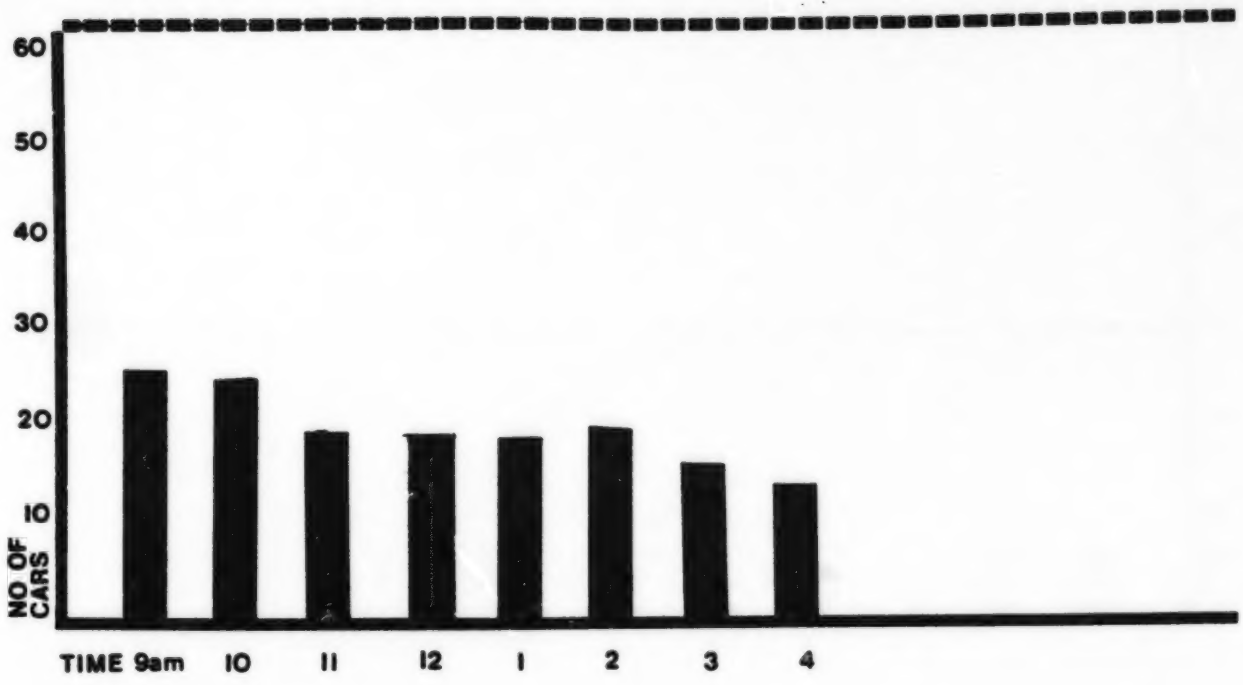
WEEKEND

(F)

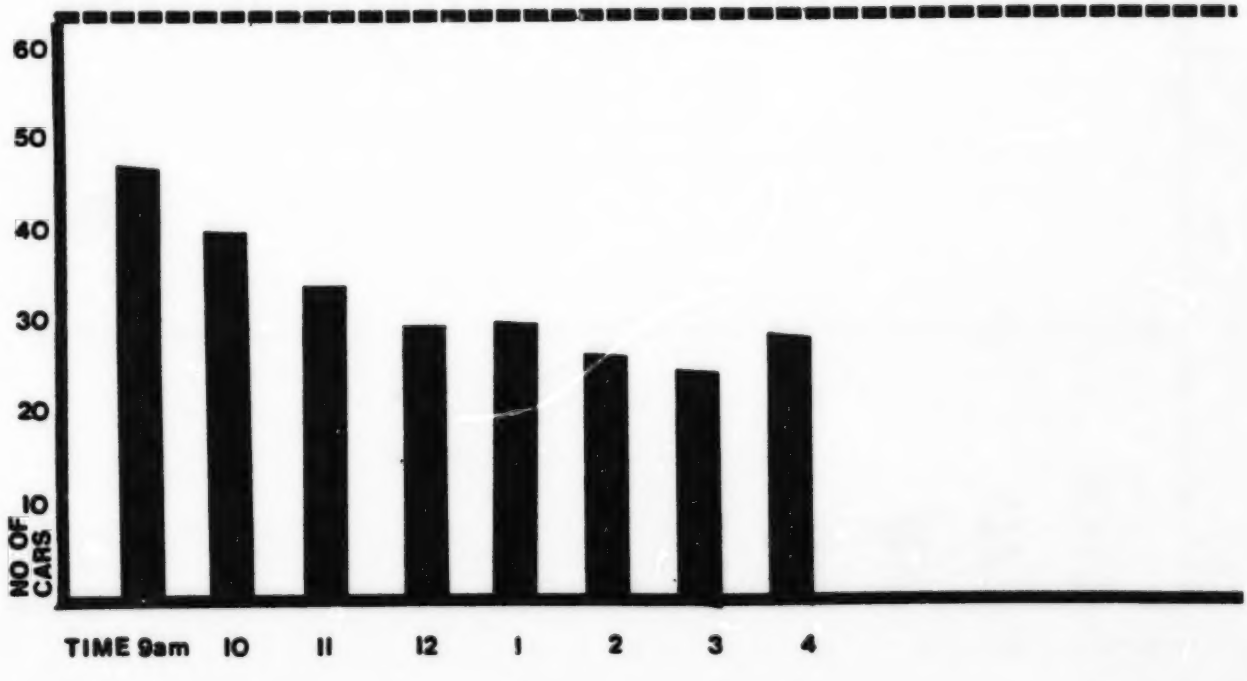
Constance Hamilton (off-street)

WINTER PARKING

---- Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



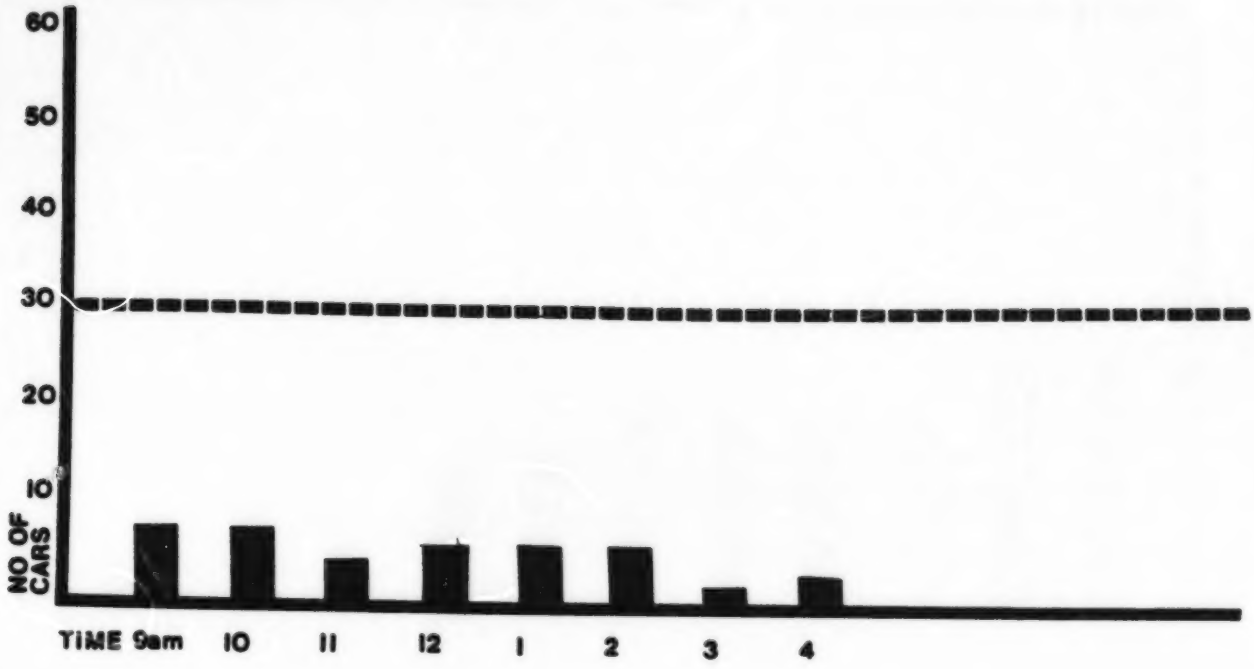
WEEKEND

(G)

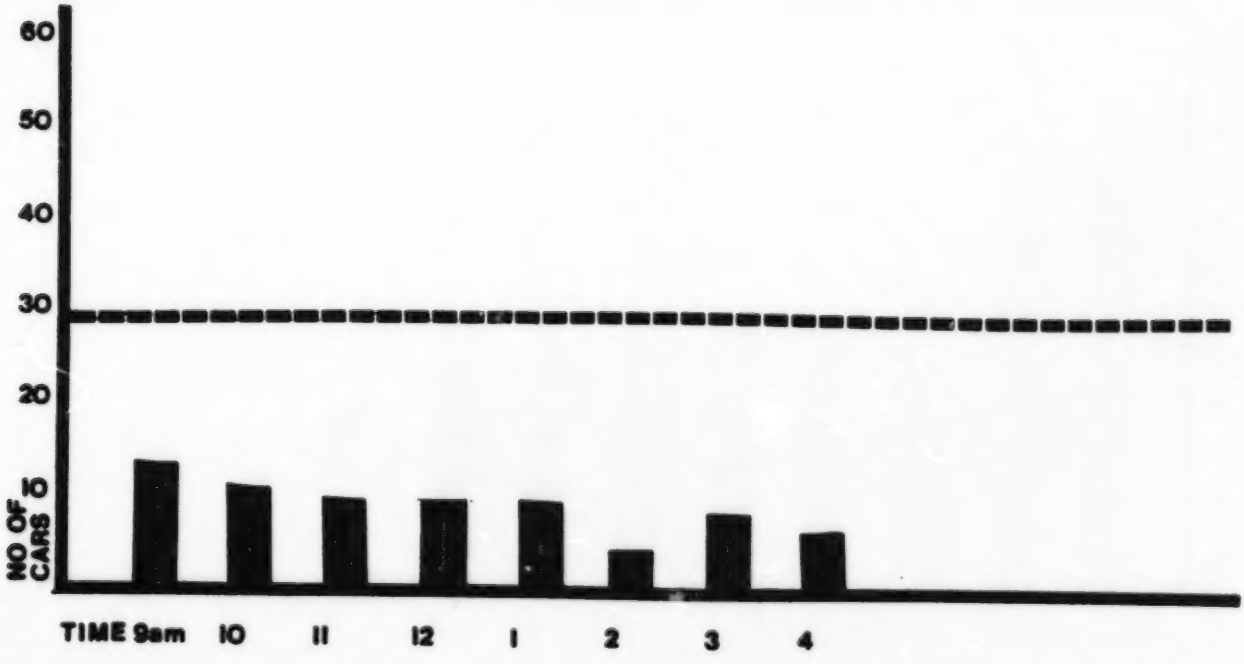
City Lane G

WINTER PARKING

---- Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



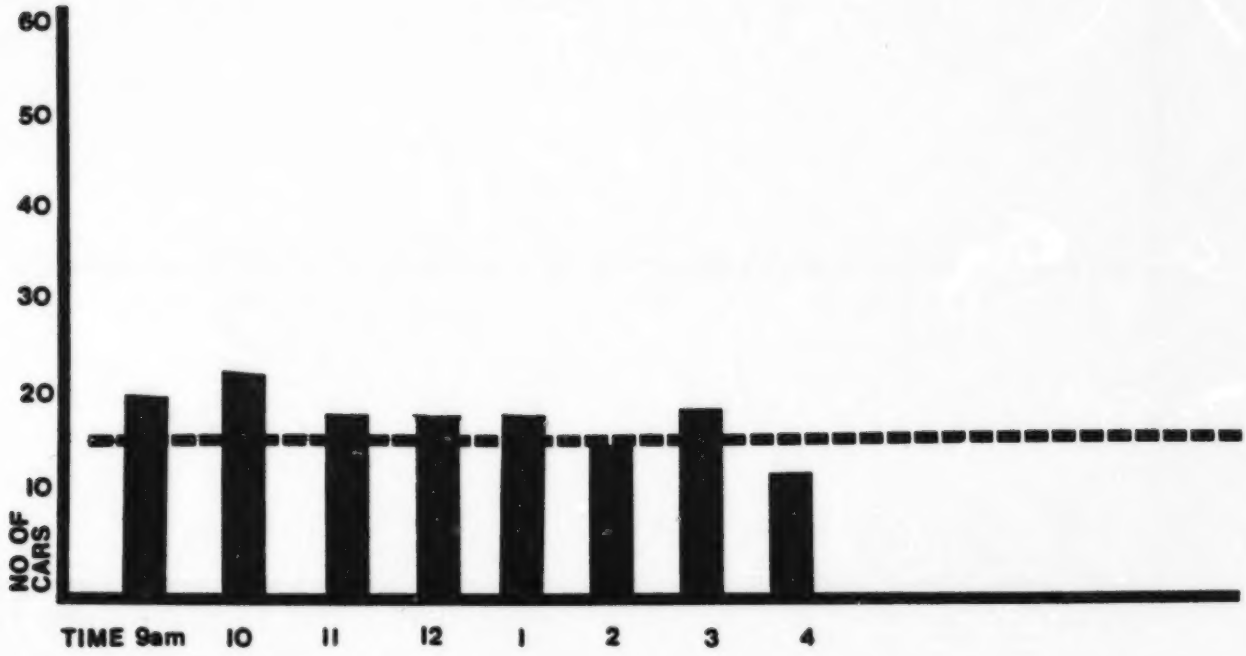
WEEKEND

(H)

Lotus (off-street)

WINTER PARKING

Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



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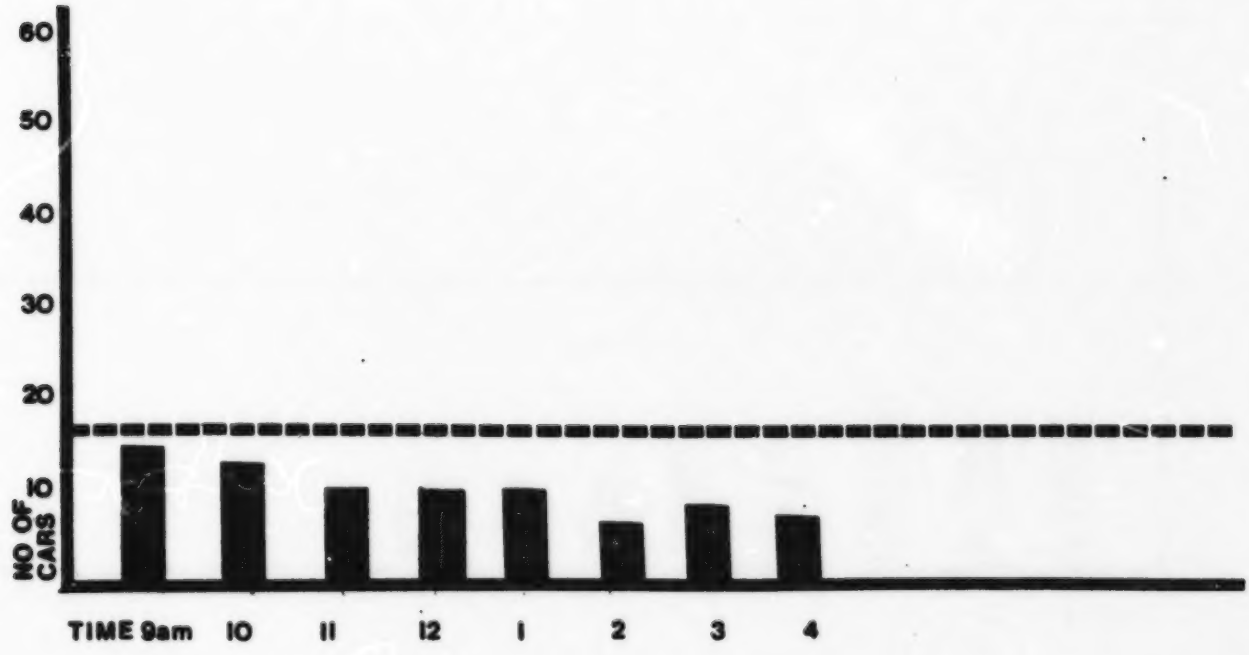
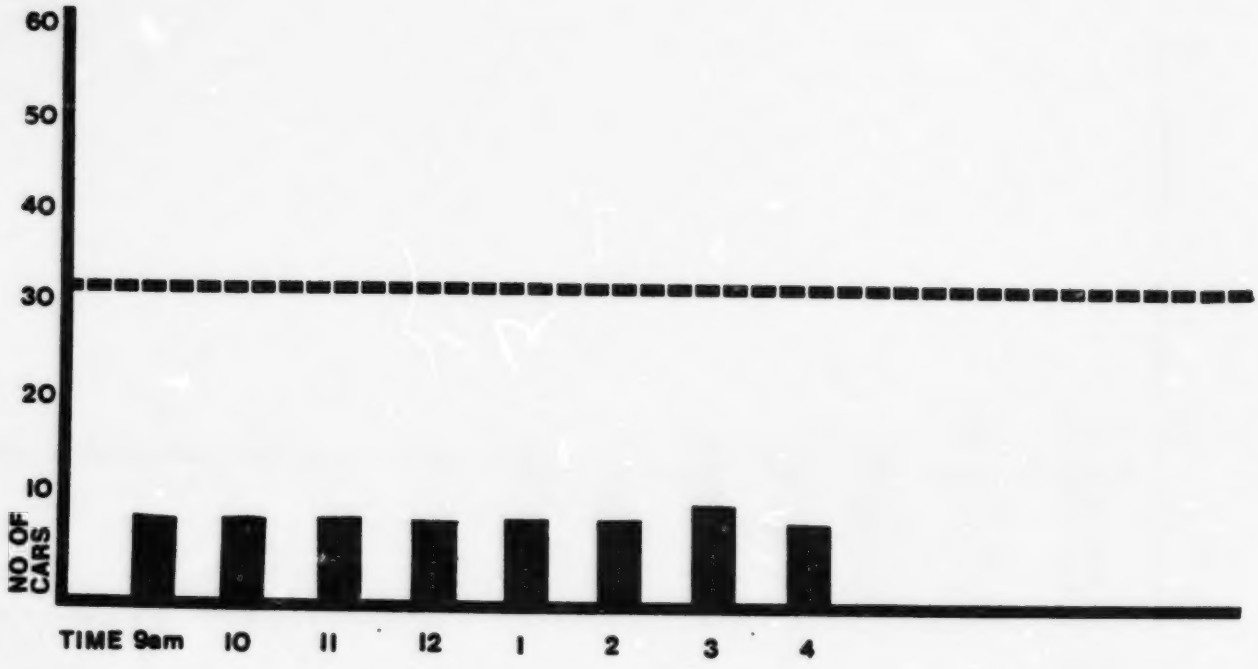


WEEKEND

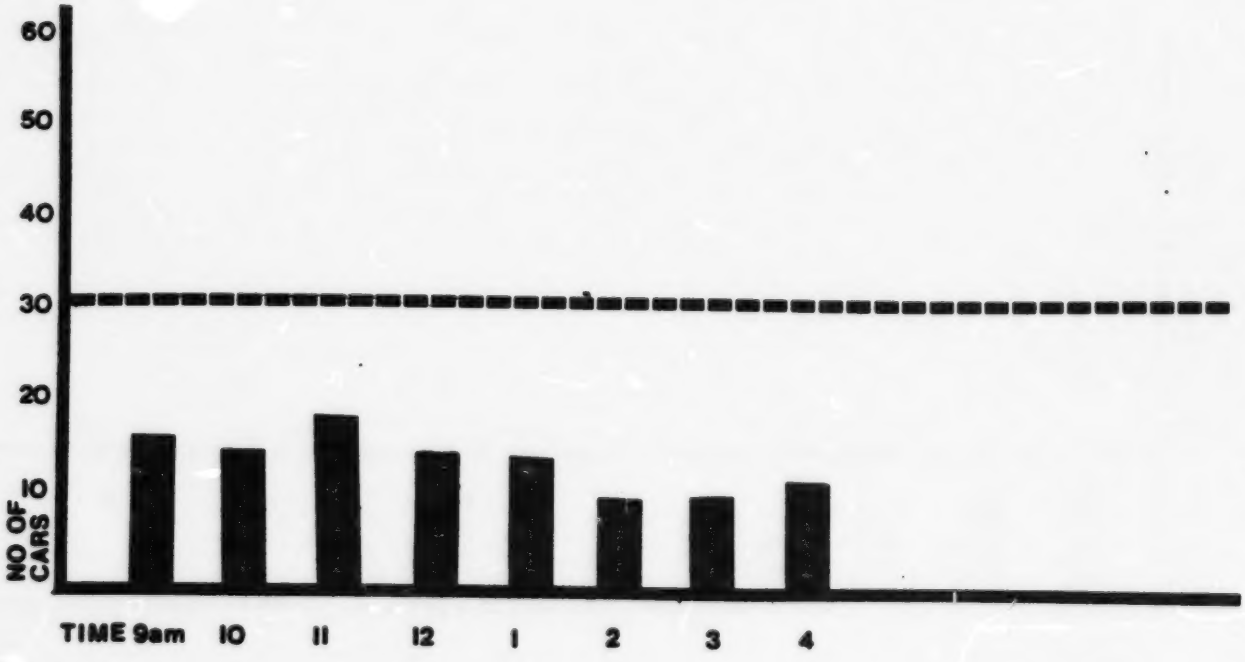
Melita Crescent East

WINTER PARKING

Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEK



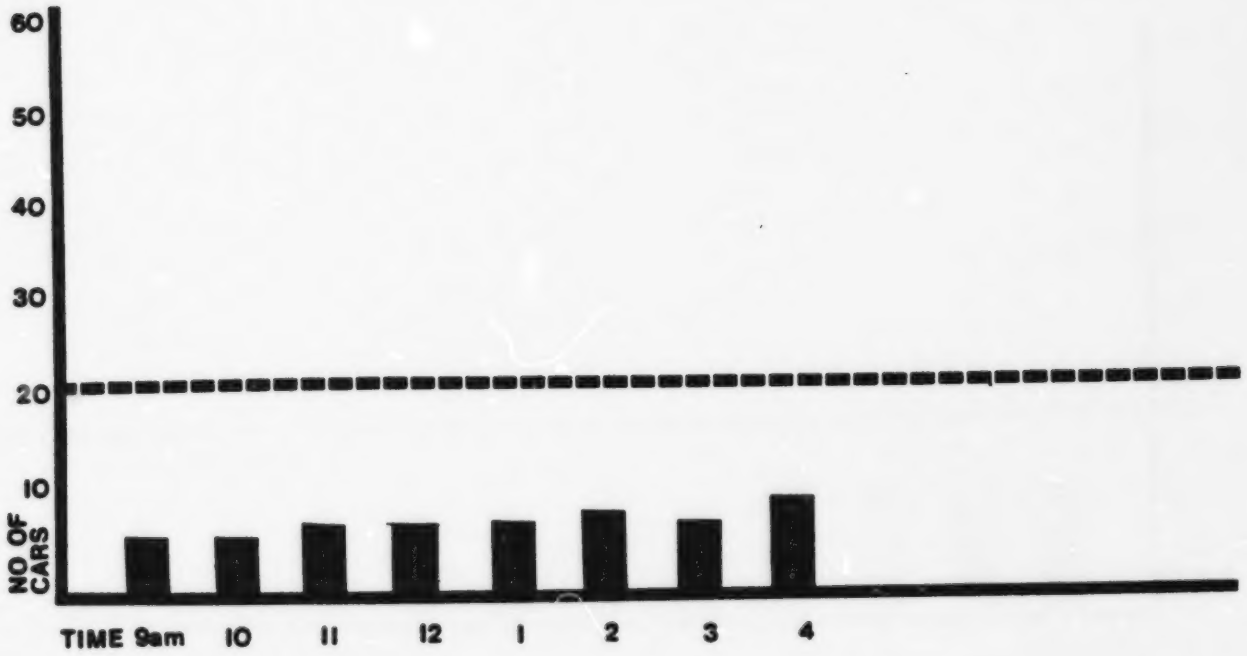
WEEKEND

(J)

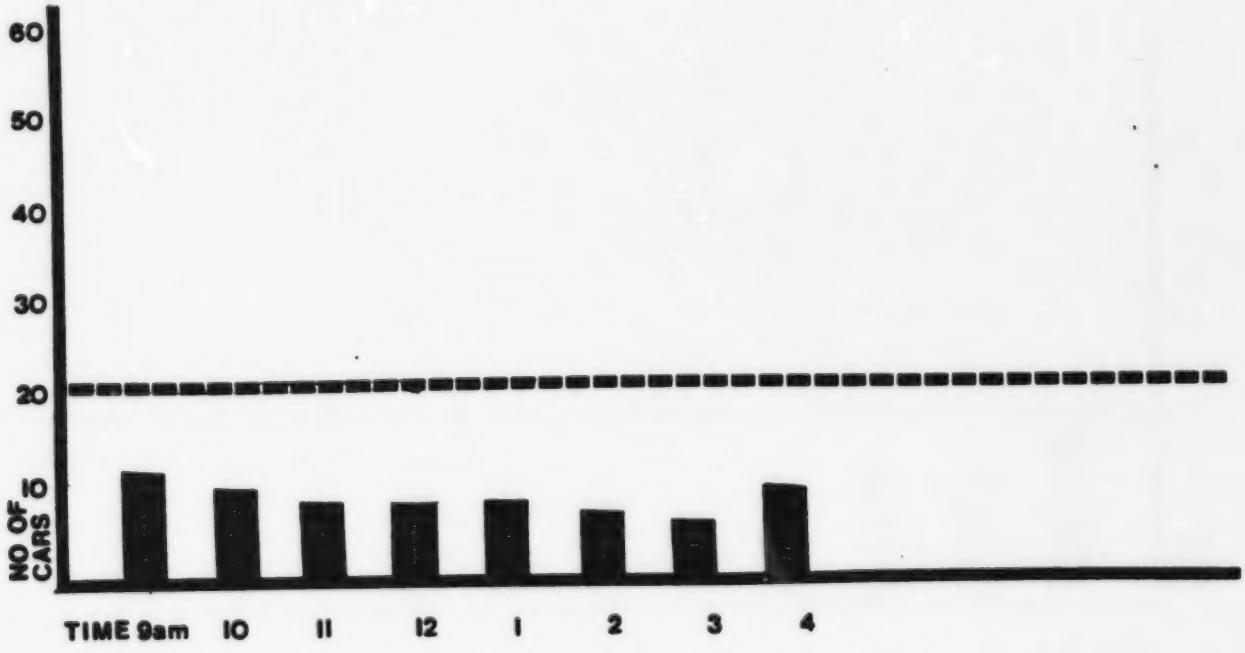
Cityhome (off-street)

Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available

WINTER PARKING



WEEKDAY



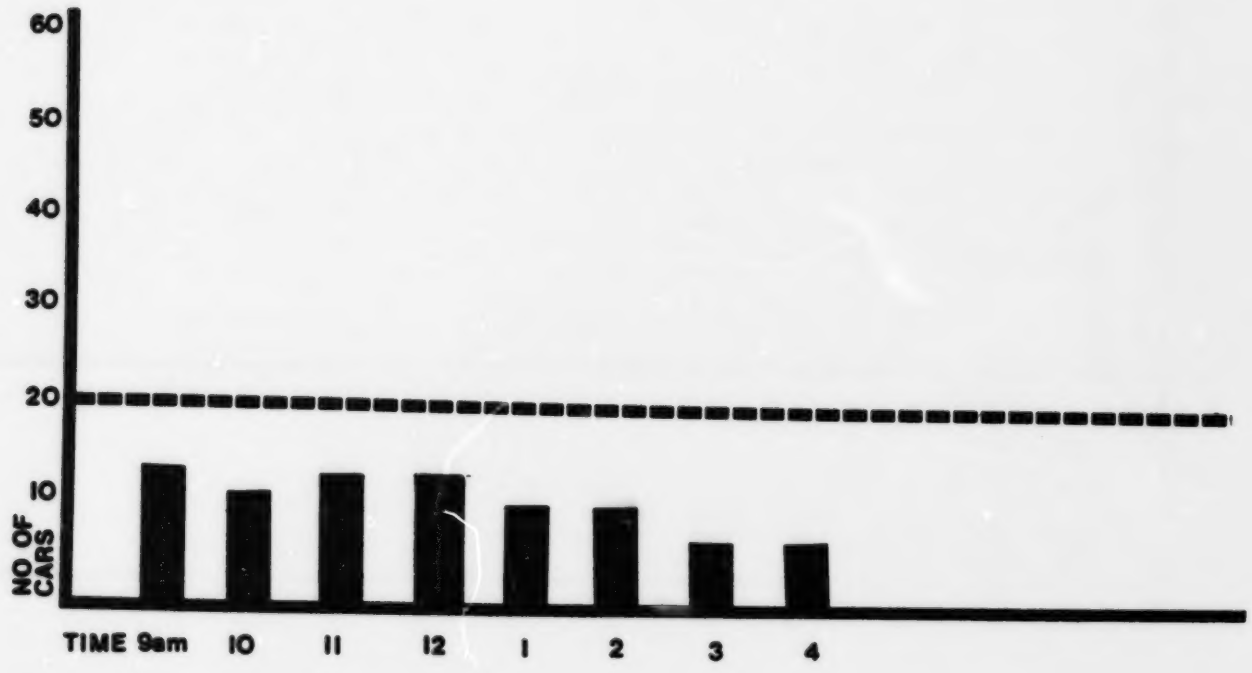
WEEKEND

K

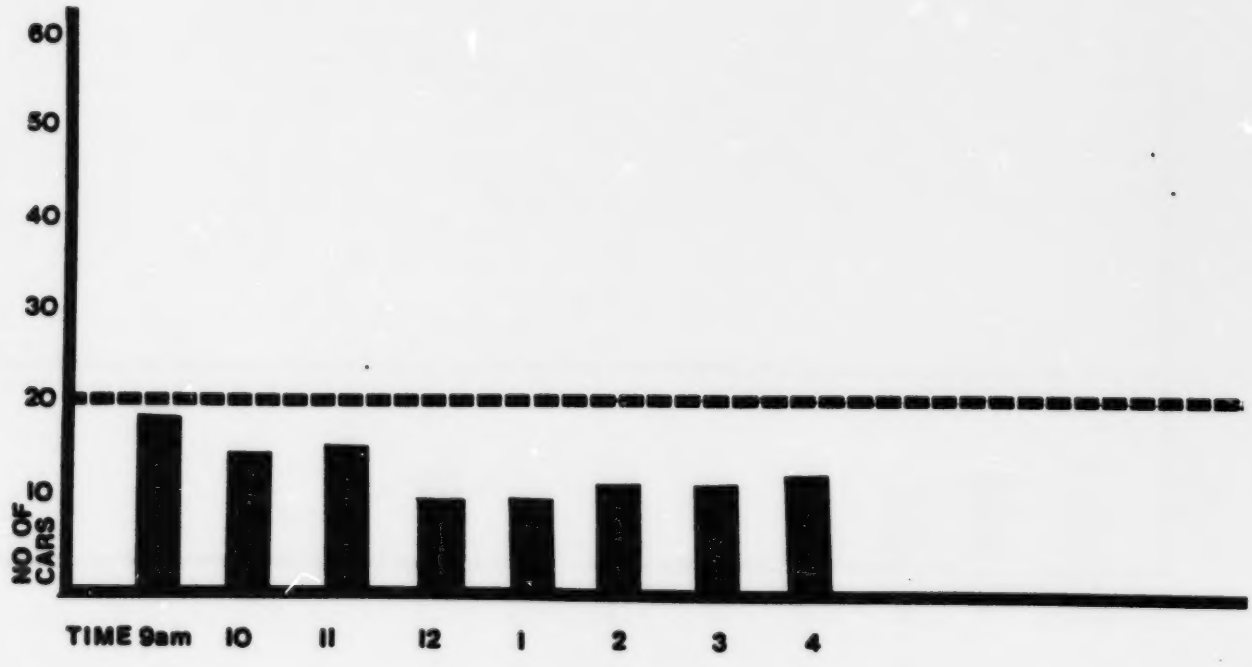
City Lane K

---- Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available

WINTER PARKING



WEEKDAY



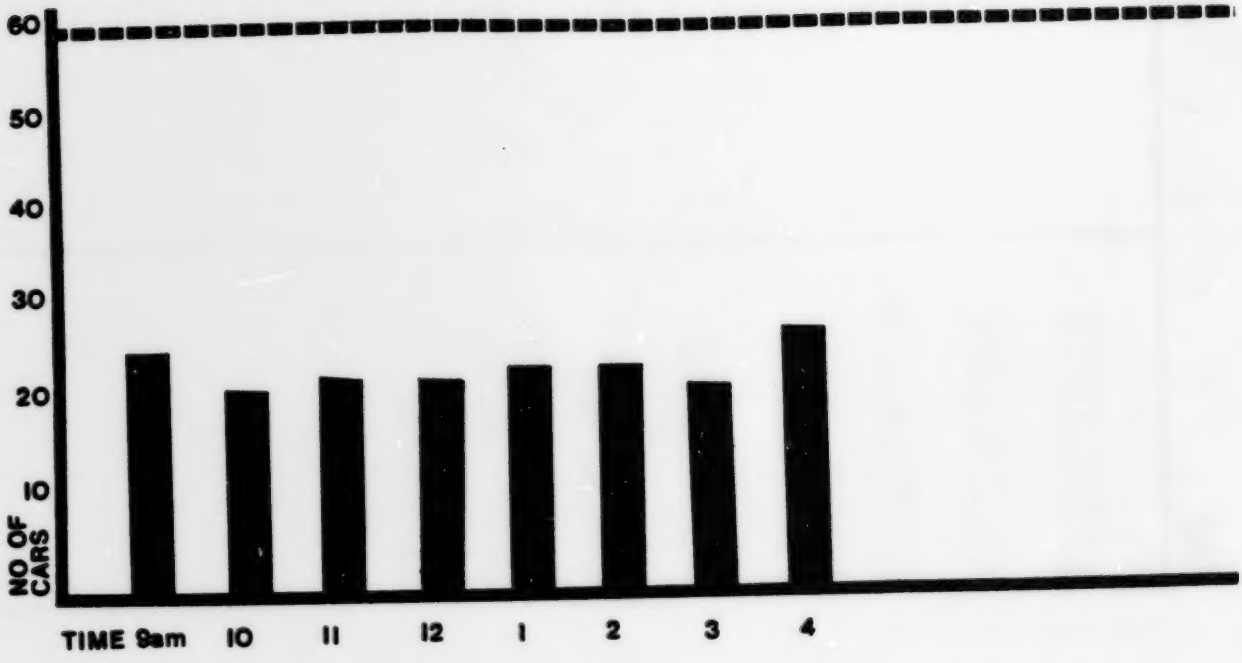
WEEKEND

(L)

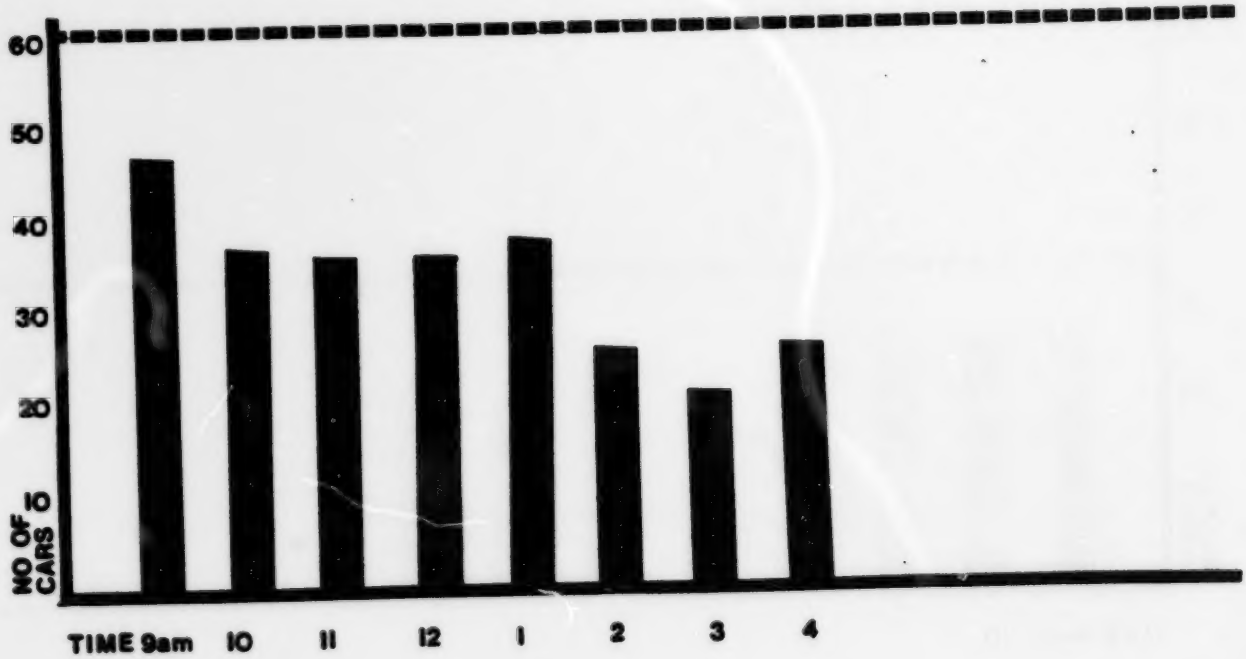
Fred Dowling (off-street)

---- Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available

WINTER PARKING



WEEKDAY



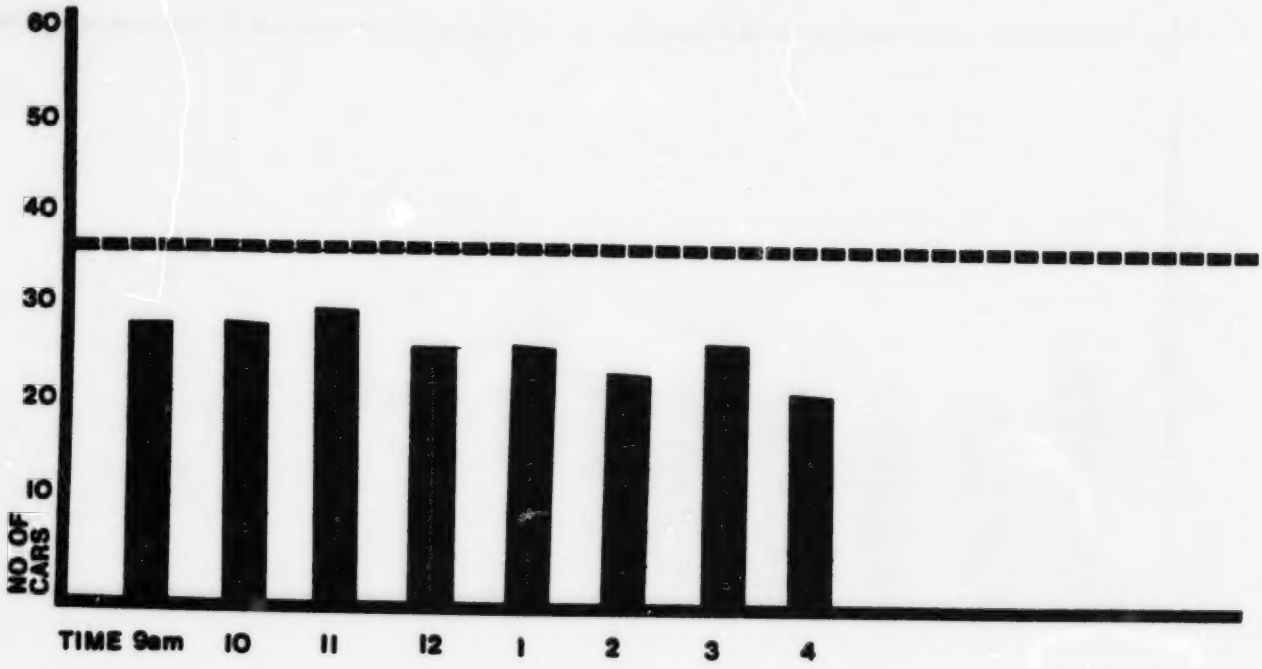
WEEKEND

M

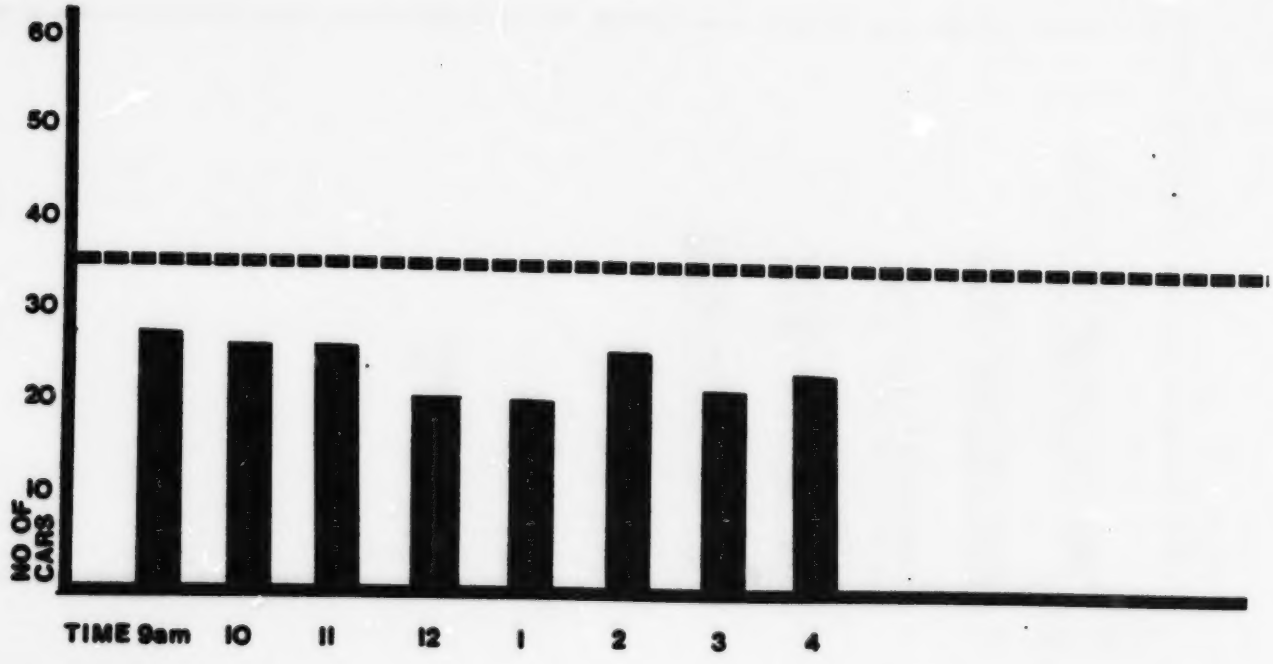
West York Homes (off-street)

WINTER PARKING

---- Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available



WEEKDAY



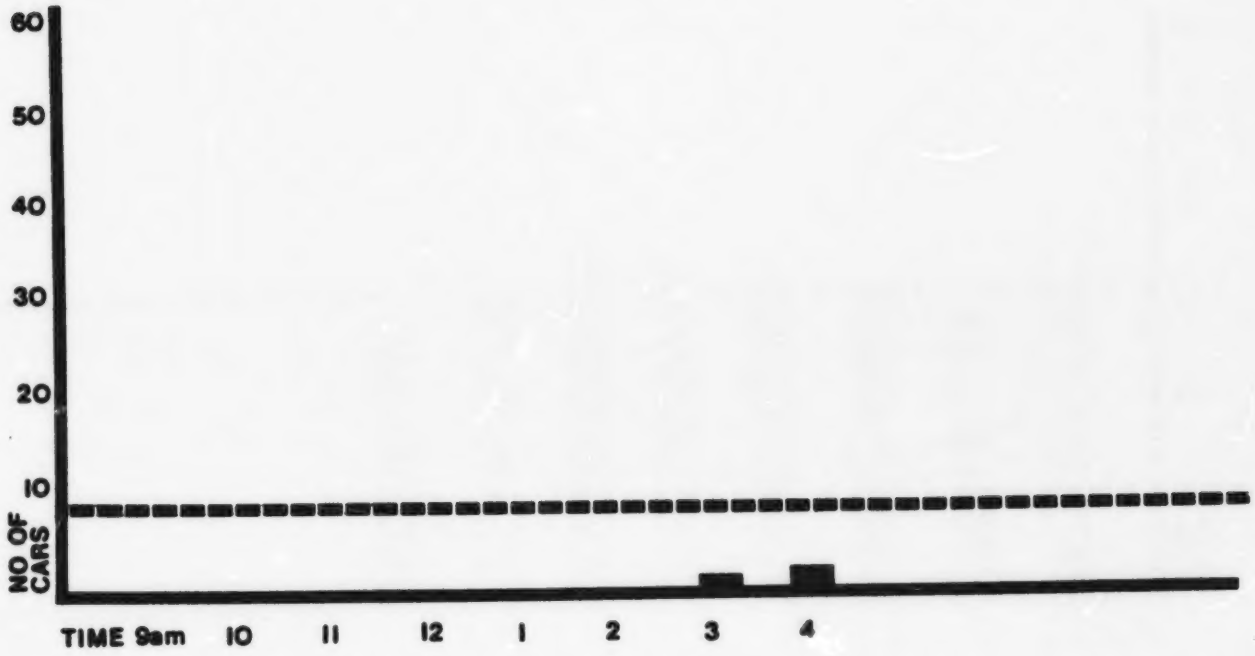
WEEKEND

N

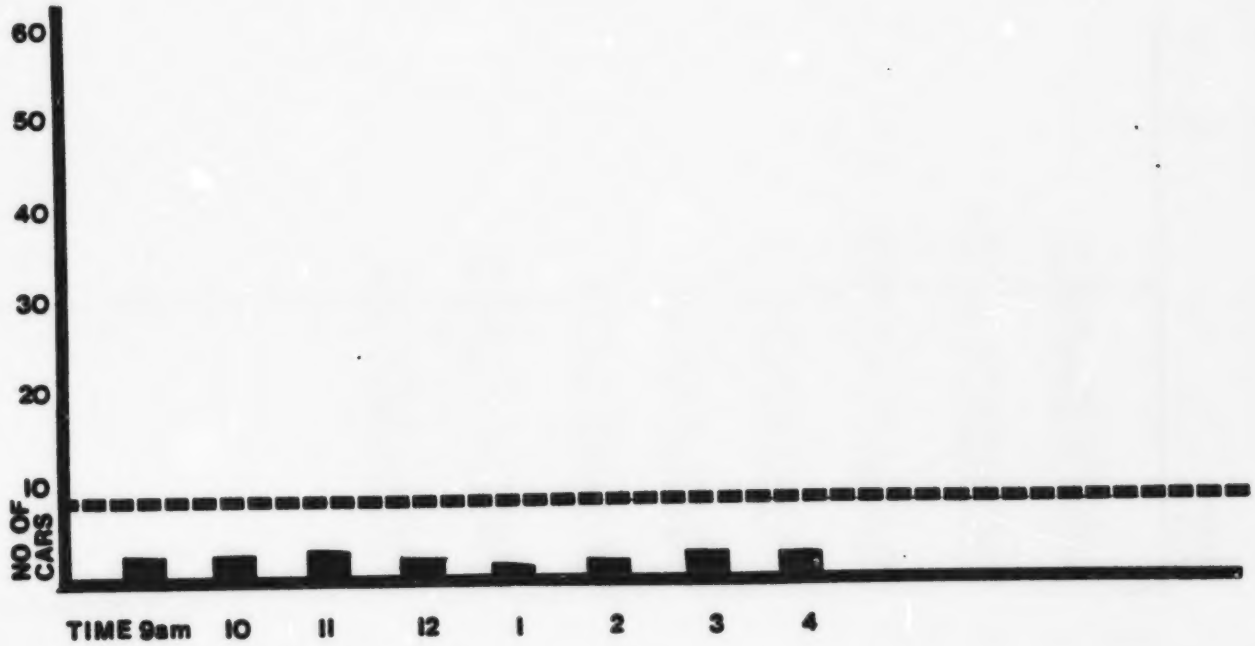
Melita Crescent South

Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available

WINTER PARKING



WEEKDAY

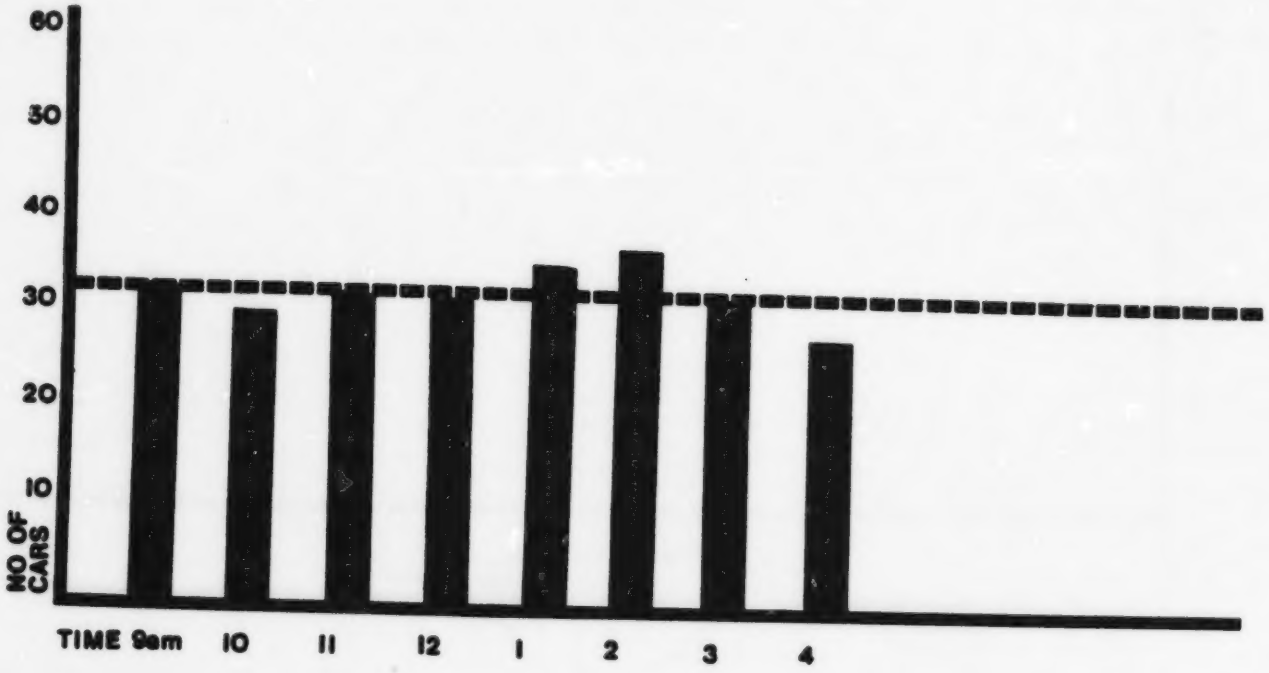


WEEKEND

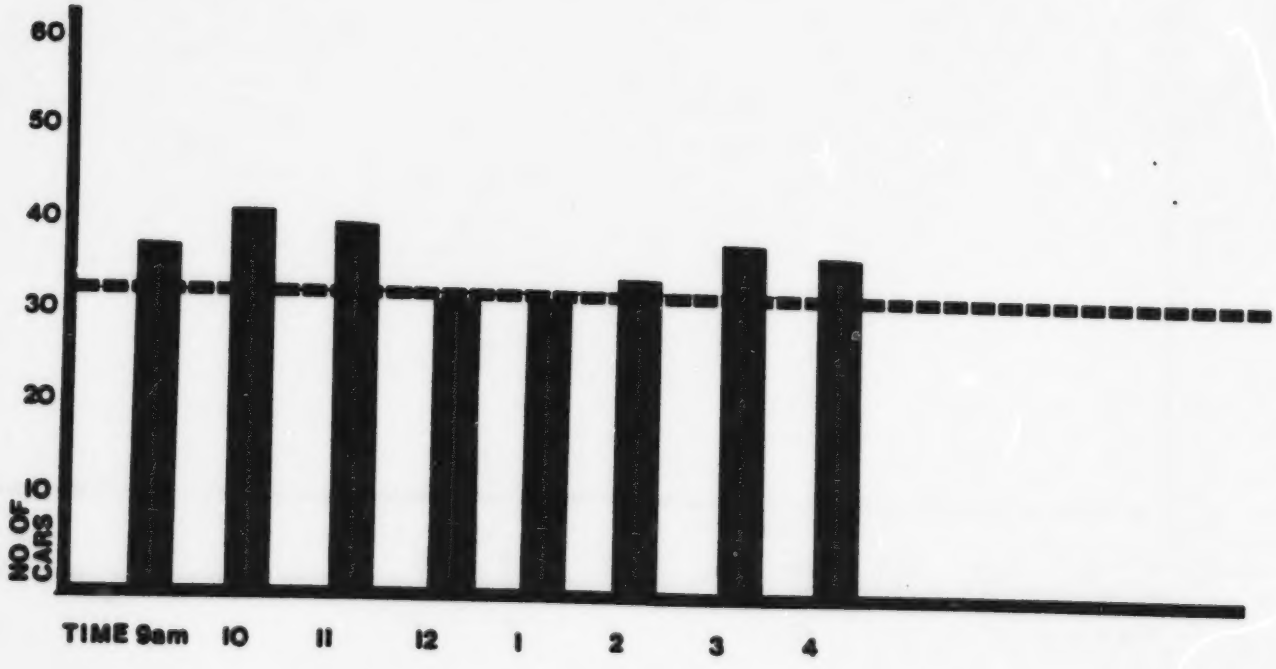
Christie Street

—— Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available

WINTER PARKING



WEEKDAY



WEEKEND

Ⓟ

Wychcrest Avenue

Max. No. of Parking Spaces Available

WINTER PARKING

E APPENDIX

TRADE-OFF GAME INSTRUCTIONS - RESIDENT

STEP ONE There are 30 cards representing factors that planners, architects and landscape architects have to juggle when designing a new community such as Frankel/Lambert.

We would like to know what factors are important to you as a resident living in the community.

Place the cards in order of importance to you. If some of the cards represent factors which are irrelevant to you, discard those cards.

TAKE YOUR TIME

When you have finished placing the cards in order of importance write down the order by numbering the cards in the upper left-hand corner.

STEP TWO Now we would like you to rate each factor according to your experience of living in Frankel/Lambert.

Rate each factor by putting an X in the appropriate box. As you rate each factor we will put down one chip for each rating point. You will use the chips in Step Three.

5 points indicates very good conditions
3 points indicates average conditions
1 point poor conditions

STEP THREE We would like to know which factors in Frankel/Lambert you would like to improve.

In order to improve the quality of one factor, you must give us a degree of quality in another factor.

For example, to improve air quality by 3 points you must move 3 chips from other factors. You may move chips from several factors to improve one condition.

RESEARCHER Use scale at bottom of card to record factors improved. Circle the number of chips removed from other cards. Record the cards' number in the blank provided.

children's play space within the whole neighbourhood

5 excellent | 4 good | 3 average | 2 below average | 1 poor

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

different lifestyles

bothered by people living in the neighbourhood

5 Never | 4 a few times a year | 3 2-3 times a month | 2 several times a week | 1 every day

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

living in a co-op

5 very important | 4 important | 3 in-between | 2 unimportant | 1 very unimportant

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

garbage storage/collection

5 Never a problem | 4 | 3 adequate | 2 | 1 frequently a problem

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

children's play space associated with your building

5 excellent ☐ 4 good ☐ 3 average ☐ 2 below average ☐ 1 poor ☐

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

communal space for the building

5 excellent ☐ 4 good ☐ 3 average ☐ 2 below average ☐ 1 poor ☐

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

homeownership

5 very important ☐ 4 important ☐ 3 in-between ☐ 2 unimportant ☐ 1 very unimportant ☐

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

personal outdoor living space attached to your own unit

5 excellent ☐ 4 good ☐ 3 average ☐ 2 below average ☐ 1 poor ☐

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

outdoor space in the whole neighbourhood

5 excellent | 4 good | 3 average | 2 below average | 1 poor

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

neighbourliness

5 neighbourly | 4 | 3 in-between | 2 | 1 unneighbourly

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

access to day care

5 excellent | 4 good | 3 average | 2 below average | 1 poor

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

living in a Cityhome building

5 very important | 4 important | 3 in-between | 2 unimportant | 1 very unimportant

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

housing costs

5 inexpensive | 4 | 3 affordable | 2 | 1 expensive

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

snow removal

5 Never a problem | 4 | 3 adequate | 2 | 1 frequently a problem

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

access to workplace

5 excellent | 4 good | 3 average | 2 below average | 1 poor

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

TTC service

5 excellent | 4 good | 3 average | 2 below average | 1 poor

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

access to school

5 excellent | 4 good | 3 average | 2 below average | 1 poor

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

access to cultural and entertainment facilities

5 excellent | 4 good | 3 average | 2 below average | 1 poor

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

shared outdoor space for your building

5 excellent | 4 good | 3 average | 2 below average | 1 poor

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

laundry facilities

5 excellent | 4 good | 3 average | 2 below average | 1 poor

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

access to sports/recreational facilities

5 excellent | 4 good | 3 average | 2 below average | 1 poor

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

number of people in the neighbourhood

5 uncrowded | 4 | 3 in-between | 2 | 1 crowded

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

protection from outside noises

bothered by noise

5 Never | 4 a few times a year | 3 2-3 times a month | 2 several times a week | 1 every day

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

storage space

5 lots of extra space | 4 some extra space | 3 just enough space | 2 not enough space | 1 extremely cramped

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

traffic safety

5 extremely safe | 4 safe | 3 in-between | 2 unsafe | 1 extremely unsafe

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

guest parking

5 Never a problem | 4 | 3 adequate | 2 | 1 frequently a problem

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

access to shoppping

5 excellent | 4 good | 3 average | 2 below average | 1 poor

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

space in the dwelling

5 lots of extra space | 4 some extra space | 3 just enough space | 2 not enough space | 1 extremely cramped

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

soundproofing between units

bothered by noise

5 Never | 4 a few times a year | 3 2-3 times a month | 2 several times a week | 1 every day

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

place for teenagers to gather

5 excellent | 4 good | 3 average | 2 below average | 1 poor

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

safe neighbourhood

5 extremely safe | 4 safe | 3 in-between | 2 unsafe | 1 extremely unsafe

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

personal parking

5 Never a problem | 4 | 3 adequate | 2 | 1 frequently a problem

5 4 3 2 1 from _____

5 4 3 2 1 from _____